THE

NATURE

OF

Church-Government,

Freely Discussed and set out.

IN THREE LETTERS.

LONDON

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

My Noble Friends,

SVVYBTRENME

SIRS,

I *Present you in the following Letters, the true Idea (as I take it) of Church-Government; which could it be received by all others, with the same degree of Candour I assure my self it shall by you, would be of infinite Advantage to end those fatal Controversies that for many Ages have perplexed, and, in this last, almost destroyed the Church.*

I prefer the way of Letters to set out the Notion, for two Reasons: One, because it is the more Insinuative, and a way that is much taken, at this Time; The other, because really there were Letters sent by a Non-con. to a Conf. in which most of the things were said that are in these; only now they come refined from all the Reflections that were Personal, and from some Mistakes.

For my own part, I have nothing of Fondness in me for any Opinions; nor do I hold my self obliged unto these in the Letters, further than as they shall endure the Tests of Truth: I am very willing they should undergo them all, by strict Examination; though, I confess, I am as loth they should

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be put to Torture. *If upon the severest Enquiry any thing can be found in them, or duly inferred from them, as to the Main, that will not stand with good Authority, sound Reason, good Order of Policy, or Christian Piety, I shall soon shake Hands with them: But till then I cannot believe it any Crime to own what I am fully perswaded of, and what I am sure is no Popery, That Ecclesiastical Government is a Prudential thing and Alterable; and that the only True English of* [Jure Divino] *in the present Case, is* [by Law Established.] *I am,*

SIRS,

June 8th. 1690.

Your most Humble

and Obliged Servant.

THE FIRST LETTER.

SIR,

IT must be acknowledged that you took a very right Method in the Business of Church Government, to search, (as you say you did) into its very Original; and had not some of the Prejudices of your Education, or of your Circumstances, stuck too fast to you, I suppose that way you would at least have discovered the Institution of the twelve Apostles at first, before our Lord's Passion, and of the seventy Disciples to have been only Temporary; as well as in Accommodation to the Mosaical Policy, in which were twelve Phylarchs or Heads of Tribes, and seventy Elders.

After our Lords Passion, when he was risen again from the Dead, and about to Ascend into Heaven, concerning himself no further with the seventy (of whom under that Denomination, we read nothing afterwards in the Christian Church) he gives a new and large Commission to the twelve Apostles, and assigns them two Works. The First, the making of Disciples or Christians all the World over, by declaring and publishing every where, what upon their own Knowledge, they were certain of. In reference to Christ, thus so, by being Witnesses unto him, they might both aver the Truth of Christianity, and (being many) even compel Belief of it. And after they had made Christians, to put them under Orders, according to the Rules which Christ had given them, Mat. 28. 19. In two Words the Apostles were first to make Christians, and then to frame them into Churches.

In this property the nature of an Apostle consisted, that he was a Person authorized to preach the Gospel of Christ upon his own Knowledge, as being himself a Witness of him; and in this his Office differed from that of an Evangelist; for though an Evangelist, as such, did preach the Gospel where it was not heard of before, and consequently made Christians and planted Churches, in which his Office agrees with that of an Apostle; yet herein it differs, That to be an Evangelist it was not necessary (as it was to be an Apostle) that he should be a Wit-

neſs to Chriſt; it was enough to qualifie an Evangeliſt, for Evangelizing that he had certain Tradition; but to be qualified for an Apoſtle, he muſt, by the Evidences of his own Senſes have had certain Knowledge of Chriſt. This Notion of the Apoſtleſhip is not only couched by our Saviour in what he tells the Apoſtles, *John* 14. 26. and at his Aſcenſion, *Acts* 1. 8. but is intimated alſo in the Hiſtory of the Election of *Matthias* unto the Apoſtleſhip, *Acts* 1. from 15 to the 26. and moſt plainly ſet out in all of them taken together in conjunction, for ſo they make it demonſtrable. *Judas* was once numbred with the Apoſtles, as being one of the twelve, but he fell from that Degree and Honour by his Tranſgreſſions, and therefore that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which had ſaid another ſhould ſucceed him, *Peter* at an Aſſembly of the Believers propoſes the Ordination of one in his Room. And the better to regulate the Election, he firſt inſtructs them in the Nature of the Office, and Work of the Apoſtleſhip, to which that Ordination was to be made, and this he ſays, is, with the reſt of the Apoſtles, to be a Witneſs unto Chriſt, and particularly to his Reſurrection; and then informs them, how a perſon muſt be qualified to become capable of being ordained to this Office, to wit, that he muſt be one of thoſe that had accompanied with them, all the while the Lord Jeſus went in and out among them, even from beginning to end, from firſt to laſt, *Beginning from the baptiſm of* John, *unto that ſame day that he was taken up from them*; He muſt, it ſeems, be ſuch an one as had always been with the Lord, or elſe he could not be qualified to be one of the twelve δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν, ſays *Peter*, therefore muſt one of theſe Men that have accompanied with us, *&c.* And why muſt one of theſe? but that it was the proper Buſineſs and Work of ſuch an Apoſtle, as was one of the twelve, to be a Witneſs of Chriſt to all that he had ſaid, and done, and ſuffered; and none could be ſuch a Witneſs but one that had been always with him, from firſt to laſt.

And if the former is the true Idea of an Apoſtle (as you may plainly ſee it is) then no Dioceſan Biſhop or any Body elſe indeed can be one now, for whoever is an Apoſtle muſt be a Witneſs to Chriſt, and muſt have ſeen him, and that too after his Reſurrection: And to be one of the twelve, muſt alſo have been always with him from firſt to laſt, even to S. *Paul* himſelf, who having not converſed with Chriſt upon the Earth, and therefore could not properly be one of the twelve, our Lord appeared in an extraordinary manner to qualifie him for the Apoſtleſhip; ſo that as all the Apoſtles were Extraordinary Officers, it might be ſaid of *Paul*, that he was an extraordinary ſuperadded Apoſtle.

It is true the Apoſtles were called Biſhops by S. *Cyprian*, but it had been more (though even then not much) to your purpoſe if he had called Biſhops Apoſtles (as ſomewhere he does:) Chriſt is called a Biſhop, and that by a greater Man than *Cyprian*, and yet I believe you will not infer from thence, that the Biſhops are Chriſts, or are the Succeſſors of Chriſt. I acknowledg alſo, That the Apoſtleſhip is ſtiled an Epiſcopacy or a Biſhoprick, *Acts* 1. But then it is called in the ſame Chapter a Deaconry too, verſe 25. and therefore I hope you will no more infer, That an Apoſtleſhip and a Biſhoprick are the ſame thing from the communication of the Names, than for the ſame Reaſon, That the Apoſtleſhip and a Deaconry are ſo.

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The Apoſtleſhip was an Epiſcopacy, but not ſuch an Epiſcopacy as that is which you contend for, any more than becauſe it was called a Deaconry, it was ſuch a Deaconry as that which was not inſtituted till ſome time after, *Acts* 6. Epiſcopacy is a word of ample ſignification; for, not to mention prophane Authors, as *Homer*, *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, &c. in which we read the word: It is certain *Baſil* applies it often unto God; *Peter* in his firſt Epiſtle applies it unto the Elders, and here in the *Acts* 1. it is applied unto the Apoſtles; and therefore being a word of ſo general ſignification, nothing is deducible from it, as to the ſpecial nature of any Office, except by way of Analogy. *Baſil in Num. in Pſal. 32. & alibi.*

To be plain with you, the Writers of the Firſt Century (*Cyprian* was in the Third) had no thoughts that appear of any ſuch Succeſſion of Biſhops in the Office of the Apoſtleſhip, as you imagine; even that *Ignatius* you ſo much admire and who pleads ſo much for the Prelacy of Biſhops, though he compares them ſometimes to God, and other times to Chriſt (which I believe you inſiſt not upon, becauſe you thought it a little too much), yet he never that I can find compares them to the Apoſtles: Their College, if you will believe *Ignatius*, was imitated, not to ſay ſucceeded by the Presbytery. I add, That *Euſebius* in his Annals of *Alexander* tells us, as *Hierom* alſo does, That St. *Mark* ordained, that the Presbytery of the Church of *Alexandria* ſhould conſiſt of 12. and no doubt in Imitation of the College of the Apoſtles, the Presbytery of that Church did very early conſiſt of that number, though poſſibly not ſo early as to be an Inſtitution of the Evangeliſt *Mark*. In fine, not one word in *Clemens Romanus*, a Writer of the Firſt Age, of any ſuch Succeſſion of Biſhops diſtinct from Presbyters, in the Office of the Apoſtleſhip; He knew but Two Orders of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, to wit, the Biſhops and Deacons; of which more hereafter. *Ignat. in Epiſt. ad Smyrn. & alibi.* *Clem. Epiſt. ad Corinth.*

Now if the proper Work and Office of the Apoſtles conſiſted in their being, by Office, the firſt Preachers, and Witneſſes of Chriſt, by whom they were immediately ſent for that purpoſe, then certainly that Work and Office, as well as their Miſſion to it, was extraordinary, and but Temporary. And if after they had made Chriſtians by their Preaching, and had framed them under perpetual ſtanding Orders, they did on ſome occaſions interpoſe their own Authority, either by way of Direction upon new Emergences, or elſe for Reformation of Abuſes and Miſcarriages; That was extraordinary too, and by vertue of a Juriſdiction naturally ariſing, and remaining in them, (as alſo in the Evangeliſts) as they were the Fathers and Founders of Churches.

But that this Authority which was paramount and extraordinary, is devolved upon any other Perſons, as Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, lyes on you to evince; and I think it is an hard Province: For either the Apoſtles inſtituted ſuch Succeſſors which you call Biſhops, (and I for diſtinction-ſake will call Prelates) while themſelves were living; or elſe they did not Inſtitute and Induct them while themſelves were living, but only ordained, That after their Deceaſe there ſhould be ſuch Prelates in the Church, as their Succeſſors, but not before. If you ſay the Apoſtles inſtituted and inducted Prelates as their Succeſſors while themſelves were living, I demand how that could be? Can any come into the places of others,

even while these others possess them? And again I demand, whether there were, or could be any Officers instituted by the Apostles over whom themselves retained not Jurisdiction? for if the Apostles retained their Jurisdiction (which I suppose you will not deny) over the Prelates they instituted (if they instituted any;) Then they transferred not their Jurisdiction to these Prelates, that is, the Prelates were not such Successors of the Apostles as you conceit them; for none does give that which he keeps. I believe therefore you will say, the Apostles did not Institute and Induct the Prelates while themselves were living, but ordained, that after their Decease there should be such in the Churches, as their Successors. But where I pray you is the ordinance recorded? In what Scripture, In what Fathers of the First Age? or how came you to know of such an Order? if no Tradition either of the Holy Scripture, or of the most Ancient and Primitive Fathers transmits it?

Clem. Ep. ad Corinth. All of any Aspect this way, in any Father of the First Age, is in *Clemens Romanus*, and he is against you; for having premised what is very remarkable, and much to our purpose, That the Apostles knowing through our Lord Jesus Christ the strife that would one day be about the business or name of Episcopacy, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, he adds, that for that Cause (to wit, to end such strife) they ordained Bishops and Deacons, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, They appointed the forementioned Officers, and the Officers forementioned were only Bishops and Deacons, of whom he had said before, κατέστησαν τοὺς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμάσαντες, τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν they, (namely the Apostles) appointed the first fruits (of those Cities and Countries where they had preached) approving of them by the Spirit for the Bishops and Deacons of those that should afterward believe.

This is a plain Testimony (so plain, that I see not how it can be evaded) that the Holy Apostles instituted only Two Orders of Officers in the Church, of which one indeed was that of the Bishops: But this Order of Bishops being the Order that is Contradistinguisht unto that of the Deacons as well in this Father and in others, as in the sacred Scriptures, it must be understood of the Presbyterian, and not of the Prelatical Orders.

Cipryan Ep. l. 3. Ep. 9.

And when Intimated that the two Orders of Bishops and Deacons were the fixed standing Orders, which the Apostles had instituted, to continue in the Church from time to time, I did it with good Authority; for *Clement* having asserted that the Apostles instituted Bishops and Deacons, to put an end to all Contentions about the Office of Episcopacy (which would have been endless had not the Apostles thus provided against it:) He adds, And moreover they gave it in direction, That as often as it should happen that those Persons whom they had appointed should decease, others that were approved and worthy should receive their Charges.

Clem. ubi supra.

By this time you may see how little that transaction about the Incestuous Corinthian on which you insist so much, does serve your purpose; For S. *Paul* his Interposition in that business was purely Apostolical and Extraordinary, from beginning to end, the Cognisance he took was Extraordinary, by his Apostolical Spirit

Spirit or Revelation, as *Hierome* interprets it (absent in Body, but present in Spirit;) The Censure Extraordinary, which was to give the incestuous up unto Satan, as to a Tormentor: So *Hierome* carries this also; and the manner of the Execution extraordinary too, to wit, by delegation of his Apostolical Spirit, to the Church of *Corinth*, (when you come together and my Spirit.) So that the whole Proceeding was extraordinary; and though you are pleased to call it an Act of Episcopal or Prelatical Authority, and to make an Argument of it for Diocesan Jurisdiction; yet, unless you can find Diocesans now that have the Spirit, that can have a Cognisance of things at Distance by Revelation, that can give up Persons to Satan as to a Tormentor, and that can delegate their Spirit to a Congregation, the Exception lying against it will still continue in Force. *Hieron. Com. in 1. ad C.*

Wherefore as yet I see no other Prelacy instituted by the Apostles, but that of the Presbyters over the People; nor are there any Officers now of any Denomination, which ought to have (though you seem to intimate that some ought) a Mission like to that of the Apostles; for as they were Ambassadours, that were sent immediately by Christ, as he was by God, and brought their Credentials with them, sealed by the Holy Ghost; so I will not scruple to call them Extraordinary upon this Account too, any more than to call the Presbyters and Deacons ordinary, even though the Papists and the Socinians do so: The first Missions were extraordinary, whiles the Church was to be constituted; but in a constituted setled Church, in which the Officers are ordinary, their Calling is so likewise.

But to let you know what Standard there is of Extraordinaries, (for this you demand) I believe I have no more to do but to remind you of what you already know, that the use of speaking or common Language is that Standard; for certain, you that have read so often in *Cicero* (not to mention *Livy*, *Suetonius* and others) of *Honores Extraordinarii*, *Praesidium Extraordinarium*, *Potestas Extraordinaria*, cannot be ignorant that that is Extraordinary, which being not the setled standing perpetual order and use, is only for some certain time, and on some particular special Occasion or Accident. And it is in this sense of the word that the Roman Magistrates, in respect of time, are distributed by *Lipsius* into Extraordinary and Ordinary, when he says, *Aut enim (Magistratus) à temporibus dividuntur, ut Ordinarii & Extraordinarii. Illi dicti qui statis Temporibus, & semper in Republicâ essent, ut Consules, Praetores, Ediles, Tribuni, Quaestores; isti qui nec eodem tempore, nec semper, ut Dictatores, Censores, Inter-Reges, &c.* *Lipsius de Magist. Vet. Pop. Rom. c.*

It is true you tell me, that the Commission, *Matth.* 28. is not peculiar to the Apostles, and that therefore it does not Evidence, they were Extraordinary Officers; for (say you) 'There is indeed a Charge given them to Baptize and Teach, 'but it seems a wonderful way of proving them to be Extraordinary Officers, from 'the Authority they had to do that which any Ordinary Minister may do: and 'that by vertue of this Commission.

By vertue of this Commission! Excuse me as to that, every Body will not yield it; some think, that this Commission was personal, given only unto the Apostles. *Go ye*; and inforced with a promise that related only to them direct-

ly, *Lo I am with you to the end of the world*; That is, to the Conſummation of the Moſaical *Seculum*; for ſo they underſtand that Phraſe, and apprehend, they have ſufficient Reaſon to do ſo, upon comparing it with *Matth.* 24. 3, 14.

But let that be as it will. Indeed! Is the Commiſſion given to the Apoſtles, *Matth.* 28. not peculiar to them? Are they Empowered by it to do no more than every ordinary Miniſter may? I had thought that ordinary Miniſters had been limited and local, not unlimited and œcumenical Officers; and that, by their Inſtitution, they were confin'd to Teach and Rule the particular Churches over which they were appointed, and not to Teach and Rule the whole World, or (as the Apoſtles had) to have care of all the Churches. I pray tell me, is a Pariſh-Prieſt of as great Authority, as a Dioceſan? and yet a Dioceſan compared with an Apoſtle, is leſs than a Pariſh-Prieſt: The whole World was the Dioceſs of the Apoſtles. *Go ye, teach all Nations.*

I profeſs I am much ſurprized to find you deny, without Diſtinction, that the Apoſtles were Extraordinary Officers; eſpecially after Dr. *Cave* in his Hiſtory of the Lives of the Apoſtles (which I believe you have read) diſtinguiſhes their work, and ſhews what was Extraordinary in it, and what was Ordinary. But poſſibly you foreſaw, that ſhould you have ſpoken plainly, and have ſaid as he does, that their ordinary work [the ſtanding and perpetual part of it, was to Teach and Inſtruct the People in the Duties and Principles of Religion; to Adminiſter the Sacraments; to Inſtitute Guides and Officers, and to Exerciſe the Diſcipline and Government of the Church.] I would eaſily reply, That the Apoſtles had provided themſelves of Succeſſors, as to all this work, but that theſe Succeſſors were the Presbyters which they Inſtituted in every Church, to feed and govern it; and that having ordained no others, it looks as if they ſaw no need of others.

But having this Occaſion, I beg your pardon if I uſe it, to ſet out more fully the Inſtitution which the Apoſtles made, for the Government and Edification of the Churches, and how that Inſtitution came to be altered, and by what ſteps.

Firſt then the Apoſtles inſtituted a Senate, πρεσβυτέριον, a College of Presbyters in every Church, to Feed and Govern it; and this is evident from *Acts* 14. 23, 25. where *Paul* and *Barnabas* are ſaid not κατ' ἐκκλησίας, in the Churches but κατ' ἐκκλησίαν,——in every Church to have ordained Elders; a College of Elders, not a ſingle Elder or Biſhop. And as they are not ſaid to have ordained a ſingle Biſhop or Elder in any Church, ſo much leſs are they (ſaid) to have ordained any Prelate or Intendant over many Churches; every Church, as a Body Politick Compleat, had ſufficient power within it ſelf, for all its Ends: They ordained Elders in every Church.

And to me it is plain that *Clement* had regard to this practice of the Apoſtles, when, in the place I cited before, upon another occaſion, he ſays of them, That going through Countries and Cities preaching the Goſpel, they appointed the firſt Fruits of them to be Biſhops and Deacons, having approved or Confirmed them by the Spirit.

That

That the Apoſtles inſtituted many Presbyters, and not a ſingle Presbyter, in every Church, is further confirmed, not only from the frequent mention of a Presbytery found in *Ignatius*, which (as I ſhall ſhew hereafter) was Congregational, but by the Expreſs Teſtimony of *Clement*, who blames the Church of *Corinth* for raiſing a Sedition and Stir againſt their Presbyters, (and therefore there were many in that Church) only upon the Account of one or two Perſons; ſo that it is plain, there was a College of Presbyters in the Ancient Apoſtolical Church of *Corinth*. *Clem. epiſt. ad Corinth.*

Again, in the Presbytery or College, which was ordained in every Church, though all the Presbyters were equal, the Inſtitution making no Difference; for *Paul* and *Barnabas* are ſaid to Conſtitute Elders, but not to Conſtitute Elders and a Biſhop, as a Superiour over them; yet it being requiſite for Order-ſake, that ſome one in every Aſſembly ſhould have the Direction, and that Honour naturally falling on the Eldeſt Presbyter unleſs ſome other Courſe be reſolved; it is moſt probable, that at firſt, the Eldeſt Presbyter as he had the firſt Place, ſo he had the firſt Direction of Matters: But afterwards, it being found by Experience, that the Eldeſt was not always the Worthieſt and Fitteſt for that purpoſe, it came to paſs, that the place devolved not any longer by Seniority, but was conferred by Election: And in this S. *Ambroſe* (if it be he, and not rather *Hillary*) in his Comment on the fourth to the *Epheſians* is plain. *Vid. Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl. Sanct. l. 6. annot.* 324.

And admitting that all the Presbyters were called Biſhops, as undoubtedly at firſt they were, it is eaſie to conceive how the firſt Presbyter came to be called the Biſhop, and at laſt, for Diſtinction-ſake, to have the Name of Biſhop ſo appropriated to him, that the reſt retained only the Denomination of Presbyters. But all this while the Biſhop was but the firſt Presbyter, and had no more Authority in the College of Presbyters, than is allowed to S. *Peter* in the College of the Apoſtles, by all Proteſtants. Even *Epiphanius* himſelf (if we may believe *Daneus*) was at laſt compelled to confeſs, That in the Time and Age of the Apoſtles, no ſuch Diſtinction [as that is which you contend for,] was to be found between the Biſhops and Presbyters. *Dan. C. in Aug. de hær. c.* 53.

Again, though all the Presbyters in every Church had like Authority to Preach and Rule, (both Functions being comprehended in the Epiſcopacy aſſigned to them, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2, 3.) yet ſome of them being better qualifyed for the one, and ſome for the other, it is probable, that they exerciſed their different Talents accordingly; ſome of them more in the one, and ſome more in the other. This (as ſtrange as you may make it) ſeems plainly intimated in that Injunction of the Apoſtles, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Let the Elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour, eſpecially they who labour in the word and doctrin*: For here is a plain Diſtinction of Elders, of which ſome being better at Ruling, and ſome at preaching, they exerciſed themſelves according to the Talent they had; thoſe that were better at Ruling, in Ruling, and thoſe that were better at Preaching, in labouring in the Word and Doctrin.

And

And since Labouring in the Word and Doctrin had the special Honour, no Question but the first Presbyter, as most honourable, was always of the number of those that laboured that way; so that the Bishop was the Pastour also, or Preaching Elder, that is, the Preaching Spiritual Work became appropriated to him, at first Eminently, but afterwards entirely; and then nothing lay in Common between him and the Presbyters but only Rule. And this is what I can gather from Scripture of the Apostolical Settlement.

Upon the whole it is evident, That a Diocesan Bishop was unknown in the first Age of the Church, and the only Bishop to be found then, was the Presbyter; which is further confirmed, in that the Scots, who received the Knowledg of Christianity very early, even in that Age, had not any Knowledge for many Ages after, that appears, of any but Presbyterian Jurisdiction. Even Bishop *Spotiswood*, in his History of the Church of *Scotland*, tells us out of *Boethius*, and *Boethius* from Ancient Annals, of the Culdees, or Ancient Scottish Priests and Monks (who, he believes, were called Culdees, not because *Cultores Dei*, as most think, but because they lived in Cells, their Names, as he says, being *Kele-Dei* and not *Culdei*, in old Bulls and Rescripts.) He says of these Culdees, That they were wont for their better Government to elect one of their Number by common Suffrage to be the Chief and Principal among them, without whose Knowledge and Consent nothing was done in any Matter of Importance, and the Person so Elected was called *Scotorum Episcopus*, a Scots Bishop; and this was all the Bishop that he could find in the first Times: But *Buchanan* is plainer, who tells us, That no Bishop (to wit an Order superiour to that of the Presbyters) ever presided in the Church of *Scotland* before *Palladius* his Time; the Church (says he) unto that Time was Governed by Monks, without Bishops, with less Pride, and outward Pomp, but greater Simplicity and Holiness.

Spotiswood Hist. b. 1. 4.

Thus I have Evidenced what the State of Things was in the first Times of the Christian Churches, to wit, that those were governed by Presbyteries, in which all the Presbyters were equal, and all Bishops, only, for Order-sake, there was a first Presbyter, who having more Care and more Work, had yet no more Authority and Power than any other; but as the best Men are but Flesh and Blood, and the best Institutions lyable to Rust and Canker, so these were not exempted; there was a Diotrephes in the Apostles own Times, and those that followed him improved upon the Example: The first Presbyter soon became advanced into another Order, and from being First, commenced Prince of the Presbyters.

We are told by *Danaus*, who citeth *Epiphanius* (and he might have cited others) that this Departure from the Primitive Institution began in *Alexandria*; and it is very probable, That the Appointment of twelve Presbyters, besides a President (for so *Eutichius* assures us it was there) did give occasion to the President, who easily took the Hint, to challenge to himself the Place and Authority of Christ, when the very Number of Presbyters, over whom he presided, made it manifest that they were an Imitation of the Apostles. But whether other Churches took their Pattern from that of *Alexandria* or no, 'tis easie to conceive in what manner, and by what means the Mistake might gain upon them: For after the first Presbyter became

Dan. com. ent. ad August. de Pres.

became elected, and consequently was separate by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, no wonder he was soon taken for an Officer of another Order, much Superiour unto that of the Presbyters, who was distinguished from them by that Token of a new Ordination, and was in place above them. Ay, it is highly probable, That the first Recess from the Primitive Institution, even in *Alexandria*, began this way, if that be true that *Grotius* hath observed, That the Election of the President Presbyter came not in use there but after the Death of *Mark*: So that it was not (as *Eutichius* reports it,) an Institution of this Evangelist. *Grot. Ep. ad Gall.* 154.

But what way soever this Alteration had its beginning, one may be tempted (if the Epistles going under the name of *Ignatius* be indeed his) to think that it had it very early; for this Father doth every where speak of the Bishop in respect of the Presbyters, as of God in respect of Christ, and of God or Christ in respect of the College of the Apostles; and these are such Magnificent Expressions of Superiority, that though they proceeded not from any Elation of mind in him that used them at first, and used them perhaps but as Rhetorick, yet they could not but occasion other Sentiments in others, *viz.* as of the Bishops being of a Superiour Order, so, of something of Domination and Lordship in his Office.

And yet how great soever the Degeneracy was in the Time of *Ignatius*, or very near it, it was not so great then as in the following Ages; *Ignatius* his Bishop for all the Gawdiness in which he dresses him, was only a Congregational, not a Diocesan Bishop; those first Times knew nothing of the Diocesan Princely Prelate, even the President, that *Justin Martyr* mentions, was but a Congregational Pastour.

That *Ignatius* his Bishop was only Pastour of a single Congregation is evident in many Passages, but I will cite but two or three to evince it. The first is in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, where he speaks of the Prayer of the Bishop, and the whole Church, ascending in Consort unto God; so that the Bishop was the Mouth of the Congregation. And afterward, in the same Epistle, in an Exhortation to these *Ephesians*, when he presses them to obey their Bishop, he speaks of them, as of a single Congregation, that could meet together for Acts of Worship. Again, in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, whom he also presses to obey their Bishop (for this indeed is the Burthen of all his Epistles,) he plainly speaks of them as of a single Congregation; Do you all assemble and meet (saith he) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, together, for so that Expression is rendred 1 *Cor.* 14. 23.

I have shewed what the Primitive Institution was, as to Church-Orders, and have shewed also how and how early, the Alteration that was made in Congregations came on; It was first a Presbytery, and the Senior Presbyter the President; then a Presbytery, and the President elected, but still a Presbyter; afterward a President and no Presbyter, not an *Ab Beth din*, but a *Nasi*; not a Senior Presbyter, but a Prince, or chief over the Presbytery. And certainly one need to have but a little Experience, in the Course of things, to make a clear and distinct Conception of what hath been said upon this Subject. That which remains to compleat the Discourse, is to shew the same way, from Common Principles, how the Ecclesiastical Prelate, (or that Bishop over several Congregations) of the better

sort, such as *Cyprian*, *Auguſtin*, &c. (if indeed they were ſuch) did firſt ſpring up.

I conceive (with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments) that this Biſhop (of whom we read nothing that I know of in the firſt Age, or till towards the end [if then] of the ſecond,) aroſe from the large Progreſſion, and ſpreading of Chriſtianity; for then in great Cities, and their Appendages, the number of Profeſſors grew ſo great, that all could no longer meet together in one place, to Celebrate Divine Offices, ſo that neceſſity compelled them to divide into ſeveral Congregations; which, if ſettled, muſt have ſeveral Officers, as Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons; yet ſtill the Biſhop of the Mother Congregation as he had the main hand (which is to be preſumed) in forming and ſettling the Daughter Churches, ſo he ſtill pretended to keep an Authority and Juriſdiction over them.

And this indeed had ſomething of a Reſemblance unto the Apoſtles; who as they planted many Churches, ſo they had always a Care of them; but how far the Analogy will hold, or where it ſtrikes out, I ſhall not trouble you now to ſay; It is enough for the preſent to have ſhewed, that Eccleſiaſtical Prelates had not Apoſtolical Inſtitution; and that, at beſt, they aroſe but by Occaſions, and Prudentially only, upon the Increaſe of Believers.

What confirms this Notion is, That we never read in the firſt Age, and but rarely (if ever) in the ſecond, of Biſhops that pretended it of themſelves, or that were affirmed by others, to be the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. In thoſe firſt times, no ſuch Pretentions had place; but afterwards, when neceſſity aroſe in the Churches of ſending out their Colonies, then the Biſhops of thoſe Churches, that ſent them out, ſoon found, in the Juriſdiction of the Apoſtles, ſomething, that by way of Analogy, and with a little ſtretching might ſerve to countenance theirs, over thoſe that they had ſettled.

Theſe are the Sentiments I have as to the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy; in which I have made evident what Epiſcopacy it is I do believe is *Jure Divino*, and what not: But I intend not to Diſcourſe now of the *Jus Eccleſiaſticum*, by which only a Dioceſan Biſhop, or of the *Jus Civile*, by which the Lord Biſhop is Conſtituted. My Province now, is only to ſhew, what I have ſhewed, that the Presbyter is the only Biſhop *Jure Divino & Apoſtolico*, and that Prudential Conſiderations only made the Prelate, firſt the Congregational, and afterward the Dioceſan Prelate, of the better ſort. And in theſe Aſſertions I have my Vouchers, and thoſe Fathers, and Fathers as learned, and as Pious as any Churches ever owned, and cited too by Biſhop *Jewell*.

Verily (ſaith he) *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *'Inter Epiſcopum & Presbyterum nihil ferme 'nihil*, Between a Biſhop and a Prieſt, in a manner, there is no difference. S. *Hierom* ſaith ſomewhat in a rougher ſort: *'Audio quendam in tantam erupiſſe vecordiam, ut 'Diaconos, Presbyteris, id eſt, Epiſcopis anteferret, cum Apoſtolus perſpicue doceat, eoſ-'dem eſſe Presbyteros quos Epiſcopos.* 'I hear ſay there is one become ſo peeviſh, that 'he ſetteth Deacons before Prieſts, that is to ſay, before Biſhops: whereas the 'Apoſtle plainly teacheth us, that Prieſts and Biſhops are all one.

S. *Augustin* saith, 'Quid est Episcopus nisi primus Presbyter, hoc est, summus Sacerdos? What is a Bishop but the first Priest, that is to say, the High Priest? So saith S. *Ambrose*, 'Episcopi & Presbyteri una ordinatio est: Uterque enim Sacerdos 'est, sed Episcopus primus est. There is but one Consecration of Priest, and Bishop, for both of them are Priests, but the Bishop is the first.

And to what these Fathers say, we may add the Testimony of Learned *Grotius*, who, for the Reputation he hath justly gained in the World, of great Knowledge, and exact Criticism, may possibly signifie somewhat with you. He in his Epistle to *Bignonius* commending that of *Clement*, which I have often cited; among other Considerations that induced him to approve thereof, as Genuine, notes this as a main one, *Quod unusquisque meminit exortis illius Episcoporum auctoritatis quæ Ecclesiæ Consuetudine post Marci mortem Alexandria, atque ex Exemplo alibi introduci cœpit, sed plane ut Paulus Apostolus, ostendit Ecclesias Communi Presbyterorum, qui iidem omnes & Episcopi ipsi Pauloque dicuntur Consilio fuisse Gubernatas.* 'That *Clement* no where makes any mention in his Epistle, of that Eminent Authority of Bishops, that by the Custom of the Church, began when *Mark* was 'dead, to be introduced at *Alexandria*, and after that Example in other places; 'but he plainly shews, as the Apostle *Paul* also does, that the Churches were '[then] governed by the Common Council of the Elders, all of which are stiled 'Bishops by him, as well as by S *Paul*.

By what I have said you may see how little Satisfaction I received in the Proofs you gave me of the early distinction between Bishops and Presbyters, for none of them do reach home unto the First-Age, and to the Diocesan Prelatical Bishop; and if they did, would move me but little. For as for *Tertullian*, he more than seems to be on my side, when speaking of the Christian *Congregations*, both as to their Discipline and Government, and to their Worship, he says, *Præsident probati quique seniores, Honorem istum non pretio, sed Testimonio adepti*; That the Presbyters have the Rule and Government in them.

As for *Clemens Alexandrinus* his Imitations of the Angelical Glory [μιμήματα τῆς Ἀγγελικῆς Δοξῆς], in which you do imagine you have found the orders of the Celestial Hierarchy, imitated in the Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon; this is but a Flourish of Rhetorick in that Father; who though in his *Pedagogue* he speaks of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, as also of Widows; yet in his *Stromata* (*Lib.* 6. & 7.) where he treats of the Ecclesiastical Orders more at large, he mentions but Two, the Presbyters, and Deacons, and plainly intimates, that the Bishop was only a Presbyter honoured with the first Seat.

But I am much surprized at your Citation of the Emperor *Adrian* his Epistle to *Servianus* recorded by *Phlegon*, and related by *Vopiscus*; for certainly it appears by that Epistle that *Adrian* had but little Acquaintance with the Egyptian Christians, and then, his Authority is of as little moment; or else, these Christians were of the worst of Men; for he represents them, as well as the other Inhabitants of *Egypt*, to be a most seditious, vain, and most Injurious sort of Men, and particularly says, That those which Worship *Serapis* were Christians, and that the Bishops of Christ were devoted unto *Serapis*: He adds, That the very Patri-

arch (*Ipſe ille Patriarcha*) coming into *Egypt*, was conſtrained of ſome to Worſhip *Serapis*, and others (to Worſhip) Chriſt. Was ever any thing more virulently ſaid of Chriſtians? and indeed more miſtakingly? for as for the Devotion of their Biſhops to *Serapis*, I cannot imagine any occaſion that theſe Chriſtians ſhould give, which, with any Colour, ſhould render them ſuſpected of that Idolatry, but their Signing with the Sign of the Croſs; and this might, it being a way of profeſſing Chriſtianity, that at that Time was newly become the Mode, and probably it had the Fate of New Modes, which is, to be approved of by ſome, and be rejected and nick-named of others.

I am the more inclined to think that this Story of *Serapis* had ſome relation to the Chriſtian Biſhops, who ſigned with the Sign of the Croſs, becauſe I find in *Pignorius*, in his Expoſition of the *Menſa Iſaica*, that *Serapis* was uſed to be denoted by a Croſs, *Urceo* (ſays he) *ſuperne infixa Crux Serapidem notat*. And ſays *Rhodiginus*, *Lect. ant. l.* 10. *c.* 8, 9. *figuram ejuſmodi*; (ſpeaking of the Croſs) *Serapidis pectori inſculpebant Ægyptii*: Adding, out of *Suidas*, That in the time of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, when the Temples of the Greeks were deſtroyed, there were found in the Sacrary of *Serapis* certain Hieroglyphic Letters which reſembled a Croſs. But to let this paſs, I ſee no cogency in the Citation you make from the Emperour *Adrian* to evidence any ſuch Diſtinction between a Biſhop and a Presbyter to have been in that time as is in ours, and as you do plead for; for in that Epiſtle there is only the Name of Biſhop and Presbyter, without any ſpecification of Office ſignified by it, either as to its Nature or Limits; and poſſibly ſome will tell you, That by the Coherence of the Epiſtle, it is not ſo clear, but that *Adrian* might intend the ſame Officers by Biſhop and Presbyter. But I have no liſt to engage in ſuch a Diſpute; and therefore haſten to tell you what is above any, that I am,

SIR,

Your Humble Servant.

THE

THE SECOND LETTER.

SIR,

I Expected, that as I had eſſayed to ſet out a *Scheme* of Church-Government, and ſuch a one as I believed, and do ſtill believe, to have been the Primitive and Original, and of Apoſtolical Inſtitution; ſo you likewiſe would have given a Scheme according to your Sentiments; and then, by Comparing Scheme with Scheme, and each with the Account of the Scriptures, and other undoubted Accounts of the firſt Century, we might at laſt come to have made a ſurer Judgment, which was the Right and which the Wrong, than now, in the parcelling and retailing way you take, it is poſſible to do.

Indeed, to gain a true Light into the Nature and Frame of Church-Government, in the whole extent of it, one ought to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral States and Circumſtances in which the Church hath been, and accordingly conſider the ſeveral Orders, which were in it, in thoſe ſeveral States, and the Grounds and Reaſons of thoſe ſeveral Orders. Now the Church (I ſpeak of the Catholick or Evangelical Church) may be conſidered, either as it was a Conſtituting, before it had received External Form and Shape, as to Orders: Or after it was Conſtituted; and that the Apoſtles, who had not only received Inſtructions from their Maſter what to do in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, but were likewiſe invited by the concidence of Events, had put their laſt Hand unto it.

Again, the Church, after its being Conſtituted and Clothed with Orders, undergoes a Double Conſideration, for it may be conſidered, either as it ſubſiſted and ſtood alone, ſingly, in a State of Separation from Secular *Governments* of the World, or as it is united to them by the Laws and Ordinances (that in ſeveral Countries are ſeveral) which they have enacted and eſtabliſhed about it.

Whoſoever conſiders the Church whilſt conſtituting, before it had received its external Form and Orders, ought at the ſame time to acknowledg, That of neceſſity there muſt be perſons to conſtitute it, and cloth it with theſe Orders; which

persons, if vested with Authority so to do, are properly Officers; but yet, in that performance, cannot be conceived to be or act as ordinary Officers, these being permanent and standing, and belonging to the Church as constituted; whereas that Office had its place before the Constitution of the Church, as being ordained to constitute it.

This Office (as I evinced in my former Paper) appertained to the Apostles, it being their Work to lay the Foundation of the Christian Church, by preaching the Doctrin of Christ, as true upon their own Knowledg, and consequently making Believers or Disciples, which was to gather the Church; as also by instituting of Officers, and giving Rules about them; which was to put the Church under Orders, and to settle its Government.

On this Account the Church is said to be built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and the New Jerusalem, the City of God, (or the Evangelical Church in its most reformed State) is described in the *Revelations* to have twelve Foundations, answering to the twelve Apostles; who by the Doctrin which they preached and witnessed, and the Order which they setled, did indeed lay the Foundation of the Christian Church, and set it on foot.

It is true, the Evangelists as well as the Apostles were (in part at least) the Founders of particular Churches; But the Apostles only (with the Prophets) have the Honour of being stiled Founders of the Church; these being the only persons that were commissioned by our Lord Christ for that end: He immediately sending and directing his Apostles, but these sending and directing the Evangelists, who are therefore called by some (and not unfitly) *Apostoli Secundarii*, Apostles of the Second Order: So that I do distinguish between the Founding of the Church which was done by the Apostles only; and that of particular Churches, which was performed by the Evangelists as well as by the Apostles.

By the Church, which for distinction sake I call Essential, to discriminate it from particular Constituted Churches, I mean nothing but the whole Multitude or Company of the Faithful, as they are united to Christ, and hold Communion with him, as well as one with another, by one Common Faith, and by the participation of the Holy Spirit. And of this Church all that do believe in, and make a true Profession of Christ (though as yet they are not ranked in any particular one) are Members, and have their several Uses, according to the Measure of the Dispensation given them; from which Measure some are Principal and some are less Principal Members; *He gave some Apostles, and some Prophets*, &c.

This Essential Church, though it is a kind of a Body, Society and City, yet it is not a Secular Politick Body; I mean not a Body, united in it self, under one External Visible Head, by any Universal Politick Orders and Dependencies that run throughout it, such as are in Secular Governments, whether Monarchical, Aristocratical or Democratical, to make them one. But it is a Spiritual Mystical Body, a Body united unto Christ the Head by the Spirit of Faith and Love, under the Laws and Rules of Christianity; a Religion which obliges all its Members to Communion one with another (as much as is possible) for mutual Edification and Comfort.

Could

Could all the Members of the Chriſtian Church have held Communion one with another, and ordinarily have met together for the Diſcharge of Common Duties and Offices; and all have been ſubject unto one External Government, common to them, there would ſtill have been but one Congregation of them, as there was at firſt, and conſequently but one Church, as to External Orders.

But the Chriſtian Church, in the nature of it, being Catholick and Univerſal, that is, not walled in and confined by diſtinguiſhing Rites and Cuſtoms, as the Jewiſh was, unto a particular People, but lying in common to all Nations, as much as unto any; ſo that ſuch External Communion and Government was abſolutely impracticable in the whole, as taken together; therefore it was neceſſary that it ſhould be practiſed (as indeed it was) only by Parts, each of which Parts was to bear the Denomination of the Whole, as being the whole in Little. This is the Original of particular Churches; in reference to which Churches it may be obſerved, That as the Jewiſh Church (which ſome call the Synagogue) was founded in a Nation, ſo the Chriſtian Church, eminently ſtiled the Church, was founded in a particular Aſſembly; the Mother-Church at *Jeruſalem* was only a ſingle Congregation. It was for the former Reaſon, as well as for others, that the Apoſtles, when they inſtituted Church-Government, did not give any General Scheme that ſhould relate to the Catholick Church, as to an External Body, or to Provincial, or to National Churches; but they only ſetled Particular Churches, as Homogeneal Parts of the Whole: And theſe in this Order, That as the whole Church was a free People that had not one only, but many Apoſtles, who, by the Original Inſtitution, were to take the Care of it; ſo in every particular Church (which was to be a Vicinage under Orders, or a Company of Profeſſing People, that could conveniently meet together for the Diſcharge of Chriſtian Offices) there ſhould be not one only, but many Presbyters (a College of Presbyters anſwering to the College of the Apoſtles;) who ſhould Rule and Govern, but as over a Free People, and therefore, in all material Buſineſſes, with their Approbation and Suffrage.

Thus in the Mother-Church at *Jeruſalem*, beſides the Apoſtles, which were Extraordinary, there was a *Senate* or College of Elders, as the ordinary ſtanding Officers; and theſe, with the whole Church, or Body of the People and Brethren, are convented upon the Buſineſs of *Antioch*,

And thus the Apoſtles *Paul* and *Barnabas*, every where, in every Church or Congregation, are ſaid to have eſtabliſhed a Senate or Presbyters, and that too by the Suffrage or χειροτονία of the People.

So that the Original Government of the Church, of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, was only Congregational; which Congregational Government conſiſted of the People or Brethren, and of the Presbyters or Senate; in which Senate he that preſided, tho' in proceſs of Time he was called Biſhop, by appropriation of the Name which all the Presbyters enjoyed at firſt in Common, yet, in the *Original Inſtitution* (he) was no more than the firſt-named Presbyter, and ſo no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed in it, than as *Peter* (was) in the Inſtitution of the College of the Apoſtles, who is ſtill firſt named in it. And *ſuch* a Biſhop I do acknowledg to have been from great

great Antiquity, namely, a Congregational Biſhop, that had the firſt Direction of Matters, a Perſon that was *Primus Presbyter*, a Presbyter only in Order, and the firſt of that Order in the College of Presbyters: But a Dioceſan Biſhop inveſted with the Power of ſole Ordination and Juriſdiction, and he a Suffragan too (for this is the Biſhop that is in Controverſie between us,) this Biſhop you muſt prove, if you can, and nothing is done if you do not prove him to be Apoſtolical.

Sure I am that S. *Cyprian* conſidered himſelf but as a firſt Presbyter; and therefore as his Name for the Biſhop is always *præpoſitus*, in reſpect of the People: So he calls the Presbyters his Compresbyters, *Ep. l. 4. ep. 8.* [*Quas ad primitivum Compresbyterum noſtrum: Et l. 4. ep. 6. Litera tua per Quintum Compresbyterum miſſa.* Ay! the 25th Epiſtle of the 3d Book is directed to (his) Compresbyters. And in the 24th Epiſtle of the ſame Book he calleth *Rogatianus* his Compresbyter; but he no where calls the Deacons his Condeacons; clearly implying by that Denomination, that when he was made Biſhop he ceaſed not to be a Presbyter, as not become of another Order, only he was now a Preſident in it, and poſſeſſed of the firſt Chair. I do not find you deny the Inſtitution of the Presbytery (the which I have abundantly evinced,) or ſo much, that in the firſt Times, the Biſhop was only the Preſident of it, or the firſt Presbyter, which yet is the main of the Cauſe: And you can as little deny, if you will be juſt, the Power and Intereſt of the People, who are called in Scripture ſometimes the Church and ſometimes the Brethren, and in *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* the *Plebs*. Thus you find in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, the People concerned in the Election of *Matthias* [*Peter* ſpake to the whole Aſſembly, *Men and Brethren*, &c.] So in that of the Deacons [*Wherefore Brethren look you out among you ſeven men of honeſt report*, &c.] And in the Ordination of the Presbyters, for *Paul* and *Barnabas*, ordained with the χειροτονία of the People, *Acts* 14. 23. Again, they are concerned in the Cenſure of the Inceſtuous *Corinthian*, not only by way of Approbation, as where it is ſaid, *When you are gathered together*, &c. 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. but by way of Judgment and Execution, verſe 12, 13. In fine, even in the Debate and Deciſion of Controverſies; for *the brethren were together with the apoſtles and elders, and there was much diſputing*, (which, I ſhould think, was rather among the People than among the Apoſtles and Elders:) And the Decretal Epiſtle goes *as well in the name of the brethren as in that of the apoſtles and elders*, Acts 15. 1, 7, 22, 23.

Cyp. Ep. l. 1. ep. 4. vid. & ep. l. 1. ep. 3, 9. l. 4 ep. 2.

Nor were the People entirely deprived and outed of their Original Power or Intereſt in Elections and Cenſures, even in the Time of S. *Cyprian*; for he plainly aſſerts to them the chief Share, both in the Election of the *Præpoſiti*, or Biſhops that are worthy, and in the rejection of the unworthy; and this he doth both by the Congruity of the *Old Teſtament*, and the Practice recorded in the *New*; not only allowing to them (as ſome would have it) a preſence in all Tranſactions, but affirming their Power (*Cyprian*'s Word is *poteſtas*) and their Suffrage. *Propter quod, plebs obſequens præceptis dominicis & Deum metuens, à pectore præpoſito SEPARARE ſe debet, cum ipſa maximè habeat poteſtatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recuſandi.* For which reaſon a people that obſerves the Lord's Commands and fears God, ought to ſeparate themſelves from a Biſhop that is wicked, in as much

much as they, principally, have the power both of electing worthy Priests, and of rejecting the unworthy.

This is further evident in the Resolve, that *Cyprian* (as himself professes) assumed at his coming first to the Bishoprick, which was, That he would do nothing of business by himself, and singly without the Counsel of the Elders, and Deacons, nor without the Consent of the People: *Solus rescribere nil potui, cum à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nil sine concilio vestro,* (writing unto the Elders, and Deacons) *& sine Consensu plebis, meâ privatim sententiâ gerere.* *Cypr. Epist. l. 3. Ep. 10.*

In fine, in *Clemens Romanus*, who preceded *Cyprian*, as living in the Age of the very Apostles themselves, we have a plain intimation of the Interest and Right of the People, in the Election of Presbyters, and in their Rejection; from which also we may conclude the share they had in other matters; for in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he says, Those who were appointed by the Apostles, or by other Excellent Men σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρέπον, with the Consent and Approbation of the whole Church, and who lived worthily, ought not to be (injuriously) deprived of their Ministration. [And, by the way, this Testimony of *Clement* shews in what sense it is said, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did Chirotonize Elders, it being evident that it relates to that which stands upon Record in the *Acts of the Apostles*, of what was done by those Two in that kind of business.] After the former evidences, I do not see how it can be questioned, that the Government of particular Churches was at first (what I have affirmed it) Popular and Democratical, as consisting of the Authority of a Senate, and of the power of a People, or in S. *Cyprian*'s Language, of the Majesty of the People, and the Authority of Priesthood: Thus resembling the Greek Republicks and their *Ecclesia*, or popular Assemblies, which, at *Athens*, were composed of *Proedri*, who directed and ordered matters, and of the People who voted. And even *Origen* against *Celsus*, L. 7. as Mr. *Thorndike* tells me (for I have not *Origen* at present by me) compares the Government of the Churches of Christ, as I have, to the Republicks of the Cities of *Greece*.

But possibly you will grant me, that Congregational Government was of Apostolical Institution; but it will be a matter of too hard a Digestion to yield, there was no other Government that was likewise so: And yet, if you cannot give me an Apostolical Draught of any other Church-Government, nor one Instance (as I believe you cannot) of any Church in the First Century, or till toward the end of the Second, (if then) but what was Congregational, nor of any Officers (besides the Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets,) which were not local, and limited to particular Congregations: It must then be acknowledged, that no other Government (intended for after-times) but the Congregational was absolutely primitive, and of Apostolical Original; say not, it might be, though not recorded; for *Eadem est ratio non apparentium & non existentium*; to us it was not, if it appears not; perhaps but one Church in one City or Town at first; but no Instance can be given of one Pastor over divers Cities and Towns.

The former truth is so great a one, that even in the time of S. *Cyprian* (when yet too many Novelties, not to say Corruptions, had invaded the Church) the Usurpation that was then begun upon the Rights of the People, had not prevailed so far, but that as the Bishop of that time was Congregational only, and local, (to speak generally;) so he was not ordained at large, but to a certain People, and Cure. Thus, saith S. *Cyprian*, was *Sabinus* ordained. The Passage is very remarkable, and since it not only evidences the Point I have asserted, but does also vindicate the Presbyterian way of Ordination used now, as a way that was used at that time, to wit, by the Concurrence of preaching Ministers, *Praepositi*, or Bishops of several Congregations, and the laying on of their, or one of their hands, for this reason I will cite it at large.

Propter quod (saith he) *diligenter de Traditione divinâ & Apostolicâ servandum est & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, & fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui Praepositus ordinatur, Episcopi* ejusdem provinciæ *proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus delegatur* plebe præsente, *quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod & apud vos factum videmus in* Sabini *Collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universa* fraternitatis Suffragio, *& de Episcoporum qui in præsentia Convenerant, quique de eo ad vos Litteras fecerant Judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in Locum Basilidis imponeretur* [or *imponerentur*.] Wherefore it ought diligently to be observed, and maintained as a thing of Divine Tradition, and of Apostolical practice, the which also is observed by us, and almost in all the Provinces, that to the end Ordinations may be rightly made, the Bishops of the same Province, which are neareſt to that People for whom a Minister is ordained, do all meet, and that the Bishop be chosen, the People being present, who have a perfect Knowledge of the Life that every one hath led, and also do throughly understand his ability by his Conversation. And this we see you also have observed in the Ordination of *Sabinus*, our Colleague, on whom, as well by the Suffrage of the *Brotherhood*, as the Judgment of all the *Bishops*, both those that were then present, and those that sent you their Letters about him, the Bishoprick was conferred, and hands imposed in place of *Basilides*.

Those learned Men that have told us that the Christian Church was formed after the Fashion of the Synagogues and not of the Temple, or rather the Tabernacle, did certainly own a true Idea of this business: There was but one Temple in all *Judea*, as but one Church, and one High Priest, to whom the other Priests, as also the Levites, in several orders, were subordinated, as well as one to another, in a certain line of Dependance. But the Synagogues were many, and many in one City, even some Hundreds in *Jerusalem*, and in every Synagogue, (if all had one form) there were many Rulers: Now particular Churches are unto the Catholick Church, the same, in proportion, that Synagogues were to the Jewish.

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To be sure, this is manifest to whosoever considers it, That Christ and his Apostles did carefully avoid the Imitation and Similitude of the Tabernacle in all their Institutions, and all their Orders: The Apostles were never called Chief Priests, nor the Presbyters Priests, the Ministers the Clergy, nor the People the Laity; no National Form of Church Government was ever Established, no Consecration of Officers; no Garments or Holy days, or other such like Observances, were ever appointed by them, in Conformity to those of the Tabernacle. But when the Judaizing Opinion, which prevailed mightily even in the days of the Apostles, had, after their decease, diffused and spread it self farther, so that Christians came into an Admiration of the Orders, Beauty and Pomp of the Temple, which was but a fixed Tabernacle, and Christianity it self became considered (as by some it is this day) but as another kind of Judaism, then Ministers were turned into Priests, Deacons to Levites, and Ordination to Consecration; the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was turned into a Sacrifice, the Table to an Altar. The Tabernacle Times and Seasons of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, became generally observed, (only with some little Bowing, and bending of themselves to Christianity,) and the Tabernacle Maintenance in time became insisted upon also, as well as the Tabernacle Title.

Thus began the Defection, which upon the Tabernacle Grounds, and by pretences of some Analogy unto the Orders of that Fabrick, did afterwards grow up to a great height in most Countries, in a National Form and Dependance, but in none to that Perfection, as under the Papacy; which as it doth divide its Rites and Observances (almost all) from the Tabernacle, so it can pretend to very little Authority for them, but what conceited Analogies, and some Congruities of Reason, taken from the Tabernacle Orders, and the Tabernacle Worship, do afford unto them; but Christ and his Apostles appointed not any National Forms, as that under the Tabernacle was. Indeed, had the Apostles owned any Pretentions of a Design to erect a National (much more an Universal) Hierarchy, or Form of External Government in the Church, or had they done any thing to Occasion a Just Suspition of such a Design, it would have much obstructed the true Design and End of their Mission, which was the planting and spreading of Christianity. For then, Magistrates and Rulers, in their own Defence, and for Preservation of their own Inherent Prerogatives and Rights, must have always opposed it; since the Permission of such an Authority, such a Power over their Subjects, that would not only possess an Interest in their Consciences, but be strengthened, as a Secular Empire, by a close Connection of all the parts of it, and an exact Dependance and Subordination, would render their own precarious; such a pretence must needs have awakened the Jealousie of Kings, as indeed it did, when Christ but spake of a Kingdom, though Spiritual, and but in Hearts; much more then, had it been an External and Visible Kingdom, for then, Reason of State, would for ever oppose Christianity.

But notwithstanding all that I have said, I doubt not but you will tell me, That the Government of the Church is Universal, and that there is a Catholick Hierarchy; that the Apostles were ordinary standing Officers, and that, as Apostles, they were

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the very same in the Primitive Church, that Diocesan Bishops are now; and Diocesan Bishops, the same now the Apostles were then; that the Apostles exercised Jurisdiction over the Particular Churches which they instituted; And that *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were Bishops (not Congregational, but Diocesan Bishops) were ordained such by S. *Paul*. And as you will tell me these and the like, very plausible things, of Bishops; so I make no question but others will tell me as plausible of the Council at *Jerusalem*, and of the Government of the Catholick Church by Councils and Synods of Bishops, in Correspondence to that; That the Apostles, as Apostles, should be Diocesan Bishops, and that Diocesan Bishops, as such, should be Apostles, seems so strange an Assertion, and so much against the Common Sense of most Believers, that I would rest the Controversie on that Issue. Sure I am, *Nilus* Archbishop of *Thessalonica* tells us expresly, ὁ ἢ πάπας, &c. The Pope is no Apostle, *for the Apostles did not make or ordain Apostles, but Pastors or Teachers*; much less the Chief of the Apostles: Thus he.

l. l. de pri-

And indeed there were but twelve Apostles originally, which number was so stated that it gave Denomination to their Order, they were called the Twelve. As for *Paul*, who also was an Apostle, and not of the Twelve, he was the Minister of the Gentiles; and as these were a kind of Proselytes to the Jewish Church, so he was a kind of Proselyte or super-added Apostle: Himself expresses it, *That he was one born out of due season.* 1 Cor. 15. 18. And for the Offices of Apostleship and Episcopacy, I have shewed in my former Letter how much they differ.

'Tis true, you say, that Bishops are sometimes called Apostles, and that too by the Fathers; but, you may remember, I acquainted you they were not stiled so by any Fathers of the first Century, or till towards the latter end (if then) of the Second: Else, that Bishops are sometimes called Apostles I know, and Dr. *Cave* hath many Citations to that purpose, to which you have added some, and might have added more: but the Sense in which they were called Apostles, is that only which is of any concern to us: And certainly, notwithstanding all that you have said to the contrary, it doth not as yet appear, that those Bishops that were called by the Antient Fathers, Apostles, were Diocesan Bishops; for they might be, and really, for all that glorious Denomination, they were but Congregational Prelates, who, because in a sense they were Successors of the Apostles, and the same, in some Proportion, unto particular Churches, that the Apostles themselves were to the general, even for that reason they were called Apostles, and all as well as any Diocesans.

That the Bishops compared to the Apostles by S. *Cyprian* (who is one of the first that compares them so,) were only Presbyterical and Congregational Bishops, is evident, in that, even there where he so compares them, he doth plainly Contradistinguish them to the Deacons; for even there he mentioneth but Two Orders, as S. *Paul* to *Timothy* doth; and therefore must be understood to mean as he doth, the one of the Bishops, and *Praepositi*, which he compares to Apostles, and the other of the Deacons, who, he saith, were appointed by the Apostles, as indeed they were, *Acts* 6. to be their, and the Churches Servants, *Meminisse autem*

tem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est, Episcopos & præpositos Dominus *eligit, Diaconos autem post assensum domini in Cœlos,* Apostoli *sibi constituerunt Episcopatus sui & Ecclesiæ ministros.* And 'tis plain in that Citation, which I made before from S. *Cyprian*, that his Bishop or *Præpositus* (for both in him are Expressions of one and the same Office) was a Preaching Minister, ordained unto a certain People [*ad eam plebem cui Præpositus ordinatur, &c.*]

Again, that the preaching Ministers or Pastors of Congregations were considered, as in a Sense, Successors of the Apostles, and compared to them on that Account, is farther evidenced from the Testimony of *Nilus*, who, in his Book of the Primacy of the Pope of *Rome*, hath these Words, τί οὖν ἂν τὶς φαίη, and what then may one say? is not the Pope entirely the Successor of *Peter*? Yes he is, but 'tis as he is a Bishop, "and is no more than what every Bishop that was ordained "by *Peter* may easily challenge. But there were many that by his (namely *Peters*) "Hand received this Grace of Episcopacy; Ay, every Priest this way is a Suc-"cessor of that Apostle, from whom, by Tradition, he received Priesthood, "and thus there are many Successors as well of *Peter* as of other Apostles; but in "other Respects they have no Successors.

Thus he speaketh plainly, That Bishops and Pastours succeeded the Apostles, but not in the Apostleship; of this there is no Succession: and Dr. *Reinolds* is fully of the same Opinion, and speaks home.

"Indeed it is a Point (saith he) well worth the noting, that as you do noto-"riously abuse the Church of Christ (speaking to *Hart*) for you perswade the "Simple, and chiefly young Scholars, who trust your Common-Place Books, "that *Chrysostom* spake of *Peter* and *Peter*'s Successors, in the same meaning, That "the Pope doth, when he saith, That *Peter* and *Peter*'s Successor is the Head of "the Church, and bindeth by solemn Oath to be obedient to the Bishop of *Rome*, "the Successor of *Peter*, whereas S. *Chrysostom* meant by *Peter*'s Successors all them "whom Christ doth put in Trust to feed his Sheep, as the Master of the Sentences "and *Thomas* of *Aquin* do give the Name of *Peters Successors* to all Priests and "Prelates (as they term them) that is, to all Pastors and Doctors of the Church; "as S. *Augustin* teacheth, That it is said to all when it is said to *Peter*, *Dost thou* "*love me? feed my sheep*: As S. *Ambrose* writeth, That he and all Bishops have "received the Charge of the Sheep with *Peter*; as the Roman Clergy apply it to "the rest of the Disciples of Christ, and the Clergy of *Carthage* too. Thus Dr. *Reinolds*.

Rienolds Conf. with *H.* f. 230, 231.

But I stay too long on a matter that in no degree deserves it; for to inferr, that all Bishops are properly Apostles, because they have the Name of Apostles, is to imply, That Identity of Names, will inferr an Identy of Offices, at which Rate *Joseph* the Mittendary in *Epiphanius*, whom he calleth an Apostle, would have the Honour of being a Bishop, and indeed, on that Account his Title is all as good as Bishop *Epaphroditus*'s.

'Tis true, you tell me, you believe as S. *Hierome* likewise did, That *Epaphroditus* was really the Bishop, because he is called the Apostle of the Philippians, *Phi.* 2. 25. But as it is true, that in the Greek it is [ὑμῶν Ἀπόστολον] your

Apoſtle, ſo it may well be acknowledged, That our Engliſh Tranſlators do render that Expreſſion very well [*your meſſenger*] ſince nothing is more evident than this, That the Coherence and Connexion of the Text will carry it to that Senſe. *I ſuppoſe it neceſſary to ſend to you* Epaphroditus *my brother and companion in labour, and fellow ſoldier*; but, *your meſſenger* [Απεςολον] *and miniſter of my neceſſities*; Which indeed he was, as appears by Chap. 4. 15, 18. *Now the Philippians know that no Church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only; I am full, having received of* Epaphroditus *the things* (*which were ſent from you,*) *but my God ſhall ſupply all your need*, &c. to wit, as you by him have ſupplied mine.

That the Apoſtles exerciſed a Juriſdiction over particular formed Churches, and over thoſe particularly, which themſelves had founded, is as little to your purpoſe, if Biſhops are not (which they are not) *either of the Order* of the Apoſtles, or elſe *Founders* of Churches, as theſe were; as in it ſelf it is a Truth, and not to be queſtioned.

The Juriſdiction of the Apoſtles over particular Churches undergoes a Double Conſideration, in neither of which it ſymbolizeth with the Dioceſan or Epiſcopal; for it may be conſidered, either as it was an Appurtenance and Incident to the Office of the Apoſtleſhip, to wit, as the Apoſtles were *Founders* of the Church Eſſential and thus all the Apoſtles, as they had one Commiſſion, ſo they had equal Authority, equal Juriſdiction over all the Churches. Or it may be conſidered as accruing to the Apoſtles from more particular Reſpects, to wit, as they were the *Fathers* and Founders of particular Churches: The former I call Eſſential, the latter Accidental Juriſdiction of the Apoſtles.

Take the Juriſdiction of the Apoſtles in the firſt Conſideration, and then Dioceſan Biſhops can no more pretend thereto, than they can to the Office of the Apoſtleſhip [which was oecumenical for its extent, as well as Infallible for its Execution,] it being an Appurtenance and Incident only unto this, and dyed with their Perſons; Or, take it more particularly, for that Authority which they aſſumed, and were underſtood to have, in a more particular manner, over the Perſons they had converted, and the Churches they founded, (between which and themſelves on that foot, there was a more particular Relation than between others and them) although in this Conſideration the Juriſdiction of the Apoſtles was no other than what was common to them, with the Evangeliſts or any other Perſons that planted Chriſtianity, made Converſions and ſetled Churches in any particular Regions or Places; yet even this is as far from being Dioceſan as from being ordinary.

A Founder that inſtitutes a College, ſettles Orders and makes Statutes, though he doth not conſtitute himſelf (as rarely any does) a Viſitor, yet, on extraordinary Occaſions, and in Difficulties ariſing about the Meaning of Statutes, or their Application, upon incident Emergencies he would think it but a Duty, while himſelf lived, and the Founded ſhould think it theirs, to have recourſe unto him and to take his Directions; but he dying, that Authority, as being incident only unto his Perſon, dyes with him; Founders, as ſuch, have no Succeſſors.

I touched

I touched in my former Letter on this latter Jurisdiction, in respect whereof, in a right sense, one Apostle may well be affirmed to have had an Authority and Power, in some places, and over some Persons, more than another; for thus, in a particular manner, *Paul* was stiled the Apostle of the Uncircumcision, as *Peter* was of the Circumcision.

The Apostle *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 4. Expostulates with the *Corinthians* on this Account; he asserteth the Authority he had over them, and shews the ground of that Authority; for he affirms, That as he was their Father in Christ, so he had an Authority over them, as a Father over his Children, *ver.* 14, 15, 16. *I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved* Sons *I warn you; for though you have ten thousand* Instructors *in Christ, yet have you not many* Fathers; *for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel.* Thus he claims an Authority over them as being their Father, or one that had Converted them, which Authority he plainly distinguishes from theirs, who were only Instructors. Now Bishops as such, are but Instructors of Churches, not Fathers; they may Convert and Proselite single Persons, but as Bishops they do not Found Churches, but only Feed the Churches already founded.

In vertue of this Authority, as he was their Father and Founder, the Apostle Exercised that Jurisdiction over the Church at *Corinth*, which you call Episcopal; a thing so evident, that nothing can be more, to one that observes the Connexion: for in the latter end of the Fourth Chapter, he evinced (as I said) that he had a paternal Authority over them, as well as Care for them; and immediately in the beginning of the 5th. as an Instance of that Authority, he gives them that Direction about the Incestuous Person, upon which you insist.

So that in this Tranfaction (with the *Corinthians*) the Apostle acted not as an ordinary Bishop, but acting by vertue of that Authority which he had over them, as he was the Person that had Converted them, and was their Father and Founder. The Quality he acted in was Extraordinary, and particular. Again, the Cognisance he took was Extraordinary too, he was present in Spirit, and not in Care and Affection only, [*affectu et sollicitudine*] as, by a supposed Parallel in the Expression, *Coloss.* 2. 5. you would have me believe; for he makes his presence the ground of his proceeding in the Censure or Judgment which he pronounced, *for I verily as absent in Body, but present in Spirit, have Judged already*, and all Judgment must proceed upon Evidence, by View, or Proof, not Affection, and therefore his presence, which is the Ground of his proceeding, must be a Spiritual view. The Report or general Scandal, which is mentioned *ver.* 1. on which you insist, was but a Motive (to the Apostle) to invite him to consider the matter, it was not the Ground on which he proceeded in his Censure: this, as he plainly affirms, was his Spiritual view, or presence in Spirit. And what Spirit? but that same Spirit mentioned afterwards in the same Text; (which Spirit you must yield to be Extraordinary, and Apostolical;) *when you come together, and* MY SPIRIT; it being but reason, that the same Spirit which gave in Evidence, should also assist at the Execution.

But

But this latter Spirit (you ſay) was but a Letter, or Authority, conveyed by the Apoſtles Letter; and why (ſay I) the latter Spirit not the ſame with the former? and where, I pray you, is (Spirit) taken for a Letter, or for Authority conveyed by it? I am ſure this ſame Apoſtle diſtinguiſhes Letter, Word, and Spirit, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 2. and therefore, [and my Spirit] ſhould not be [and my Letter,] eſpecially when joyned in the manner it is here with the Δυναμις, the mighty power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which, what it is, may more particularly be underſtood by *Acts* 1. 8. *But you ſhall receive the* POWER *of the Holy Ghoſt coming upon you.*

And the Sentence paſſed by S. *Paul*, was as Extraordinary as the Cogniſance whereon he grounded it: for [*To deliver to Satan*] was not to Excommunicate, either with the leſſer Excommunication, which is Suſpenſion from the Sacrament, or with the greater, which is a ſolemn Exciſion from the Church. Some will tell you it was a Cenſure wholly unknown unto the Jews, who yet had all the Forms of Excommunication, *Nidui*, *Cherem* and *Maranatha*; and that in the whole New Teſtament, nothing in the leaſt is ſaid to ſupport this thought, that Tradition to Satan is Excommunication. The delivery to Satan (as many of the the Antient Fathers believed, ſome of whom your ſelf do cite) was certainly a Judiciary giving the Dilinquent to the *Devil*, as to a Tormentor, for ſo the Apoſtles Phraſe doth carry it, when he ſaith it. It was done εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκὸς, *for the Deſtruction of the Fleſh*; and it was practiſed only by the Apoſtles, by their Apoſtolical Power, of which ſee *Petrus Molineus* in his *Vates*, *l.* 2. *c.* 11.

You do indeed acknowledg at laſt, that Corporal Affliction, or Pains inflicted by the Devil as by a Tormentor, had Place in the firſt Times, and by virtue too of Apoſtolical Cenſure; but then, by way of Qualification, you ſay alſo, That it was a Conſequent of Excommunication: But this is a thing that will not be received meerly upon your Authority, or upon the Authority of any Men, that lived in Times remote from the firſt; for it requires a Proof, either from ſome Text of the Holy Scriptures, or from ſome other Record of that ſame Time. It is clear to me, That the *Exereſis*, the ſeparation or taking away from among them, is the only Excommunication that is mentioned by the Apoſtles in 1 *Cor.* 5. and yet I fancy, ſince it anſwered to the Jewiſh *Nidui*, which excluded not from the Temple, it is not that which you intend. However, it is plain that this *Exereſis* was not a Delivery unto Satan; for the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the Separation or taking away of the Man from among them, as of a thing they ought to have done of themſelves, without any Interpoſition of his, Verſe 2. *And you are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you*; to wit, according to the purport of a former Epiſtle v. 9. whereas the delivery unto Satan was the Apoſtle's own proper Act, effected by his Apoſtolical Spirit, and by the mighty Power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, verſe 3, 4, 5.

Vid. Buxt. Lexic. Rab. ad voc. Nidui. Selden de jur. nat. & gent. l. 4. c. 9.

Again,

Again, it is plain that this *Exaresis* was nothing but their Noncommunicating and Nonconversing with the Incestuous, the Corinthians being obliged in point of Duty, to have excluded him from their Society, so as ordinarily not to keep him Company; for such a Direction had bin given to them by the Apostle in a *former* Epistle, v. 9. as a Rule of their Deportment towards the Ungodly, which Rule he yet found himself obliged to Explain and Qualifie in *this*, as which was only to be understood of their Demeanour towards Professors, and indeed, (unless they would go out of the World) practicable only towards these, and so, not to be understood absolutely and unlimitedly, of all, verse 11. And having touched their Remissness, verse 2. and reinforced his Direction with its due Limitation and Qualification verse 10, 11. he presses them to follow it in their Carriage towards this Incestuous Person, verse 13. *THEREFORE put away from among your selves, that wicked person*; THEREFORE, to wit, because I did write unto you in a former Epistle, not to accompany with Fornicators, which now I tell you must be understood of Professors that are such, therefore put away from among your selves that wicked Fornicator (and so purge out the old Leaven) by avoiding Conversation and Society with him, as much as is possible. The connexion sheweth, That not accompanying with this Wicked one, is the same with purging out the Old Leaven, and not accompanying with him was their putting him away from among themselves. Not accompanying with him was their Judgment upon him, but the Delivery of him unto Satan was the Apostle's; no Instance can be given of any Persons that gave up any unto Satan but the Apostles.

Thus, if you please to take the Trouble of reviewing the Text, a second time, with its intire Coherence, you cannot but observe, That it shews, that something must be done by the Apostle's own Power, and something by the People's: in what relates unto the *Apostle's*, there is first the Motive or Inducement he had to consider the Matter, and this was the general Scandal of it, verse 1. Secondly, The Evidence whereupon he did proceed to pass this Sentence, which was his own Spiritual View, *though he was absent in body, yet he was present in spirit* (the Antithesis must be marked) and therefore he judgeth, verse 2. Thirdly, The Sentence which he passed, and that was, That the Criminal should be delivered to Satan, verse 5. Fourthly, The manner how this Sentence was to be executed, and that was, *in a full congregation, in the name of Christ, with the apostolical Spirit, and by the* mighty Power *of the Lord Jesus Christ*, verse 4. And shew me the Diocesan that can do all this. What follows in the Chapter relates to the Judgment of the *People*, and their putting of the Incestuous away; which (as I have shewed, and that by the Reference and Coherence) is quite another thing than the delivery of him to Satan.

By this Time I believe it is very manifest, That Diocesan Jurisdiction cannot be founded with any clearness of Title upon the *Instance* alledged, this being plainly Apostolical, and grounded on that Authority which S. *Paul* had in a *particular manner* over the Church of *Corinth*, both as he was an Apostle, and as their Apostle and Founder; and no Example must be pressed further than the Ground and Reason thereof will carry it.

As for *Timothy* and *Titus*, who are honoured by you (as well as by others) with the Title of Bishops, there is so much said toward the unbishoping of them by Mr. *Prinne* and by *Smectymnuus*, &c. that I need say nothing; wherefore I will only offer, that neither of them is stiled a Bishop in the Holy Scripture (for the Epistolary *Postscripts* are none) when-ever it mentions the being of them at their reputed Bishopricks; the one at *Ephesus*, the other at *Crete*! Again, *Timothy* in effect is stiled an Evangelist by S. *Paul*; for when this Apostle exhorts *Timothy* to make a faithful Discharge of the Office committed to Him, his Expression is, *do the work of an Evangelist*, 2 Tim. 4. 5. And indeed as an Evangelist was a Secondary Apostle, that is, not a settled standing Officer, fixed in any one planted constituted Church, but an Assistant to the Apostles in planting and settling Churches; so we find *Timothy*, as an Itinerant Officer, often going from Place to Place upon occasion, as he was Invited or Imployed by *Paul*. The Stay he makes even at *Ephesus*, was only upon the Desire of that Apostle, and not from any Obligation arising from the Duty of his Place, as had he been a Bishop it would certainly have been; for 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. *Paul* is said to *request Timothy* to stay at *Ephesus*, but is not said to have ordained him Bishop there. In short, the Tenor of the Epistle, that mentions the being of *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, as it directs him in the Choice of Officers, and gives him Disciplinary Rules, so it sheweth plainly, that his Business there was to perfect the Work of the Settlement of the Church begun by *Paul*, and this is the more probable, because his Stay and Business is limited to that Apostle's Return, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. compared with Chap. 3. 14, 15. Chap. 4. 13.

And for *Titus*, it is as evident that all his Business at *Crete* was that of an Evangelist, as that *Timothy's* was so at *Ephesus*, for he was *left* at *Crete* (that is the Expression) he is not said to be ordained Bishop or Metropolitan there, no more than *Timothy* is said to be ordained the Bishop of *Ephesus*, but as the latter is affirmed to be *requested* to stay, and not to have been settled as Bishop there, so the former is only said to be *left* at *Crete*. And what for? but to do the Work of an Evangelist, for so it was, to assist and help the Apostles in the Work of founding and settling the Churches; *for this cause left I thee in* Crete, *that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting*, or left undone (to wit, by *Paul*) *and ordain Elders in every City*, Tit 1. 5. In the *Acts of the Apostles Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to *ordain Elders in every Church*, and here *Titus* is said to be left in *Crete* to do it.

Indeed both *Timothy* and *Titus* in what they did, the one at *Ephesus* the other at *Crete*, were only Deputies that acted as by Delegation of S. *Paul*, according to the Instructions which he gave them; for this Apostle saith to *Titus*, *I left thee in* Crete *to ordain Elders*, *AS I HAD APPOINTED*, and sets out the Qualifications that *Titus* must observe in the Elders he ordained, *Tit.* 1. verse 6, 7, 8 &c. In like manner he instructs *Timothy*, how he was to behave himself in the House of God, in settling Elders and Deacons, 1 *Tim.* from 1. to 15. So that if Bishops be not Evangelists, as well as Apostles, I do not see of what Advantage *Timothy* and *Titus* their Business at *Ephesus* and at *Crete* can be to

You

You acquaint me, that *James* the Brother of our Lord was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but I do not find that he is stiled Bishop by S. *Luke*, who yet had a fair Occasion to do it in his *Acts of the Apostles*, had *James* been indeed such a Bishop; nor is he so styled by any other of the Sacred Writers; and if we except the *Roman Clement* (in an Epistle said to be his) the *first* that stiled him so was *Hegesippus*, who lived at least a whole Century after. Another *Clement*, he of *Alexandria*, is also cited by *Theodorus Mirochites* and by others, to prove it; but really the Story as *Clement* tells it, (if they represent him right) carries its own Confutation; for they make him say, That '*James*, by Divine Appointment, was ordained to be the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to prevent any Emulation and Dispute, that *Peter*, *John* and the other *James* might otherwise have had for that honour.' *Theod. Mirochites Dial. 1. p. 61.*

But however that was, I do acknowledge for my own part, that *James* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but I acknowledge it only in the sense in which he was Bishop of all the other Churches, and he was no more in the Opinion of the first *Clement*, if we credit Bishop *Jewell*; for this Bishop in the Defence of his Apology, Part 2. Page 98. brings in *Clement* speaking thus, 'I send greeting unto '*James* the Brother of our Lord, and the Bishop of Bishops, Governour of the 'Holy Church of the Jews at *Jerusalem*, and also of *all* the Churches, that by 'Gods Providence are every where founded; here, saith Bishop *Jewell*, *James* is 'the Head of all Churches whatsoever.

By this Testimony it plainly appears, that *James* the reputed Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as he was *James* the Apostle, so he was no otherwise Bishop of that City, than as *Peter* was of *Rome*, and how that was, Dr. *Reynolds* has told us in his Conference with *Hart*, where he saith, 'But whether *Eusebius*, or *Hierom*, 'or *Damasus*, or whosoever have said that *Peter* was a Bishop, either they use 'the name of [a Bishop] generally, and so it proves not your purpose, or if 'they meant it, as commonly we do, they missed the Truth: for generally a 'Bishop is an Overseer, in which Signification it reaches to all who are put in 'Trust with Oversight and Charge of any thing, as *Eliazer* is called Bishop of 'the Tabernacle and Christ the Bishop of our Souls. But in our common 'use of speech it notes him to whom the oversight and charge of a particular Church is committed, such as were the Bishops of *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, and 'they whom Christ calls the Angels of the Churches: Now *Peter* was 'not Bishop after this latter sort: for he was an Apostle, and the Apostles 'were sent to Preach to all the World; wherefore when the Fathers said he 'was a Bishop, either they meant it in the former sense, or ought to have 'meant it.

In fine, it may not be amiss on this occasion to take notice of an Observation made by a learned Man (and he too a Bishop) in reference to the Testimony of Fathers, to wit, 'That they wrote things they saw not, and so framed 'matters according to their own Conceits, and many of them were tainted 'with Partial Humours.' which another, more softly, expresseth thus; That 'they, (namely the Fathers) finding the name of Bishop continued in the Suc-

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'ceſſion of one Paſtor after another, judged and ſpake of thoſe that went before, 'according to them that lived in their times.] An Obſervation that may be of uſe, with reſpect to the Fathers, that lived at a greater diſtance than the *Roman Clemens* did, from the Apoſtolical time.

Thus I have briefly touched the Arguments offered by you in affirmance of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy; only to that, which is taken from the Angels of the Churches in the Revelation, I have ſaid nothing, becauſe I do not think it worthy of a particular Conſideration: for ſince theſe Angels, for ought we know, might be only ſo many ſeveral Preſidents of the Presbyteries in Congregational Churches, the inſtancing of them makes but little for your purpoſe, who do affirm Dioceſan Prelacy.

But as you have argued for Dioceſan Authority, which you would have of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, ſo others do for the Synodical, which (as they apprehend) is grounded upon the Synod (ſo they call the Aſſembly) at *Jeruſalem*, that was convened upon the appeal made by the Believers at *Antioch*. For, ſay they, this Controverſie was abſolutely and finally decided by that Synod, and a Decree or Canon made, and this ſent not only to the Church at *Antioch*, but to all the Churches beſides, of *Syria* and *Cilicia*.

I deny not that the former Practice was the Occaſion of Synods, or Aſſemblies of Biſhops; but I affirm that that Aſſembly, though it had ſomething in it of more reſemblance to a Synod properly ſo called, than is in meer Convocations, of the Clergy, the Brethren (as well as the Apoſtles and Elders) being in that Aſſembly, who generally are Excluded from Convocations; yet it was not properly a Synod. A Synod properly, whether Dioceſan, Provincial or National, being but an Eccleſiaſtical Parliament, of the one ſort, or of the other; in which all that are obliged by the Determinations and Reſolutions of it, muſt be underſtood to be in Perſon, or by Repreſentation; as either being there themſelves, or elſe electing thoſe that do Compoſe it, to repreſent and ſtand for them.

The Controverſie at *Antioch* was about a Doctrinal Subject, of great Concernment, whether Circumciſion and Obedience to all the Moſaical Laws was neceſſary to Salvation; for This ſome of *Judea* taught the Brethren, and were oppoſed for it by S. *Paul* and *Barnabas*; but the Contention running high, and neither ſide yielding, all agreed to ſend to *Jeruſalem* to the Apoſtles and Elders, as to the Original Deliverers of the Chriſtian Doctrin, which being a Doctrin of Faith, and not of Diſcourſe and Ratiocination, they rightly judged that it muſt be reſolved at laſt, into the Teſtimony and Witneſs of thoſe who had received it from Chriſt, and thoſe particularly, whoſe Office it was to tranſmit it unto others, and to Vouch it. So that in this reſpect the Caſe is particular, the Appeal was made unto the Apoſtles and Elders, or old Diſciples, as thoſe who having converſed with our Lord, had immediately received the Chriſtian Doctrin from him; which Reaſon for the Appeal was Peculiar to thoſe Perſons that made and received it, and therefore can be none for others, taken either in their private, or in repreſentative Capacities.

Further

Further, there is something else in this business that was very peculiar; I know it is affirmed, That the Holy Ghost did assist in this Assembly in a special manner, and that the same Assistance and Guidance is promised to all others that convene in Christ's Name, either for the Decision of Controversies, or for Government of the Church; and that any Synod lawfully called, and proceeding lawfully, may say in their Decrees, as the Apostles, and Elders, and Church do hear, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.*

I acknowledge them very learned and worthy Men that think so, but I must beg their Pardon if I differ from them; for, with Submission, I conceive that the Phrase [*It seemed good to the Holy Ghost*] hath no Relation to any Assistance and Guidance of the Holy Ghost that was afforded by any Extraordinary Illumination of Mind, to them that met on that occasion, and so it makes nothing for Infallible Direction in Council; Rather, it relates unto the Decision which the Holy Ghost in Effect had already made of that Controverse, by his Descending upon some of the Gentiles, who had believed in Christ as *Peter* preached him, without any mention of *Moses*, or of his Law, *Acts* 10. from 34. to 45. For it was the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the believing Gentiles, who were Strangers to the Law [A Descent that was not transacted immediately by the laying on of the Hands of any Apostles, but was an Immediate Descent, such an one as that was which had been made before upon the Apostles themselves on the day of *Pentecost*.] It was this Descent that (being a sealing of them by the Holy Ghost, *Ephes.* 1. 13.) was urged by the Apostle *Peter* as an Argument against the Imposition of the Mosaical Yoke, which Argument was confirmed and strengthened by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and at last by *James*, (who doth not give a Definitive Sentence as the Translation carries it, and you somewhere say, but only gives his Judgment.) And this, in fine, did carry the matter; so that it is evident, that no Council, Synod, or Assembly of Men may say, [*It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us*] in their Decisions, as the Apostles and Elders did; and because they did, if that Council, Synod, or Assembly has not such a particular Manifestation of the Holy Ghost, to bottom their Decisions, as the Apostles and Elders had; when the Apostles and Elders said [*It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and to us,*] they meant, it seemed good to the Holy Ghost by his Descent, and to themselves upon full Debate.

But to return; The Church wilest it stood in its State of Separation from Secular Government, must be considered to have been in a Double Condition; the first while the Apostles were living, who as they had an Extraordinary Charge, so they had a proportionable power over all the Church; the second, after the decease or other removal of the Apostles, when the Church was left to it self: for in these different Circumstances, the proceedings were very different, both as to the punishing of Offenders, and to the ending of Controversies.

Whilſt the Apoſtles (who had an Extraordinary and Supernatural Rod) were living, and in a Condition to uſe that Rod, as there needed no other Diſcipline but that, to terrifie flagitious and great Offenders; ſo I find no other uſed, and that too, but rarely; the greater Excommunication had no place, that I can find, (unleſs where *Diotrephes* ruled) in that State of the Church: Beſides the Apoſtolical Rod, it was only Non converſing with, or abſtaining from the Society of Offenders, that was uſed as a Remedy for the Reducing of them; and this by Apoſtolical Order. Indeed, the Apoſtles were not ſo much for cutting off from the Church, as for inviting and calling Men into it: The Kingdom of Heaven is compared to a Dragnet.

But after the Deceaſe or other removal of the Apoſtles, when the terrour of their Rod was vaniſhed, and when God himſelf did no longer (as at firſt he ſeem'd to have done) in Extraordinary manner, particularly puniſh for particular Sins, as in the Caſe of the *Corinthians*, [*For this cauſe many are ſick and weak among you*, &c.] and no Aſſiſtance could be had from the Sword of the Magiſtrate without Scandal; in that State, neceſſity grew upon the Church to make its Diſcipline ſtraighter and more awful, that ſo, having ſomething in it of ſevere and rigorous, the Terrour (of it) might reſtrain, and the Execution reform.

Hence came the Church-Covenant or voluntary Subjection, which (ſaith *Lewis du Moulin*) is intimated by *Pliny* in his Epiſtle to *Trajan*, in his *Sacramento obſtricti*; and (ſays Mr. *Selden*) by *Origen contra Celſum*, when he ſpake of the συνθηκαι of the Chriſtians. And hence, by degrees, and as occaſions obliged, it came to paſs, that Excommunications, the greater and the leſſer, grew into uſe; the former not ſo much by a poſitive Inſtitution, as by the Common Law of Society; and the latter by Congruity to the Apoſtles Direction, 1 *Cor.* 5. 11. Both which though they carryed terrour in themſelves, yet, to add, to it (as the Eſtimate of the Privation ever doth depend upon that of the Poſſeſſion) Admiſſion into the Church, and conſequently to the Lord's Table, were practiſed with more Formality than in the Apoſtles times. Now comes in a ſolemn Diſtinction of *Chatechumeni* and *Fideles*, and the Candidates of Chriſtianity muſt take time before them, muſt κατηχεισθαι εις την εκκλησιαν, muſt paſs through many Degrees before they can attain to the happineſs of being admitted to a participation of the priviledges and rights of the Faithful.

Lud. Molin. de Paræn. 13.

It was now alſo that the Notion of a *Catholick Unity* obtained, which was not underſtood at that time to be *Internal* and Spiritual, an Unity of Faith and Charity only. But to conſiſt in ſomething *External*, relating unto Order and Diſcipline; as being an Unity that was to be maintained by Communicatory, and other Letters, and by Orders, and (that) was intended to ſupport the Notion of but one *Biſhoprick* in the Church, and that every Biſhop participated of that one Biſhoprick *in Solidum*. A Notion, that was of great uſe to make their Diſcipline and Power the more pointed; for if but one Church, then to be caſt out of any part of the Church, was indeed to be ejected out of the whole; and if but one Biſhoprick to be participated by all the Biſhops, what was done by one, was done

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by All; All did censure, if one did; the Expulsion made by one Bishop, out of any Church, was in effect, an Expulsion from all the Churches; and so a cuting off entirely from Christianity, and all Communion of Saints. Thus they aimed in a General Bishoprick, at what the Church of *Rome* doth in a personal; in affirming which I do not impose upon you; for S *Cyprian* is plain, *Hoc sanè utique* (says he in his Tractate *de simplicitate Prælatorum*) *& cæteris Apostolis quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædita, & honoris & potestatis; sed Exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur*, &c. *quam unitatem firmiter teneræ & vindicare debemus*, maximè *Episcopi qui in Ecclesiâ præsidemus, ut* Episcopatum, *quoque ipsum* unum *atque Indivisum probemus.* Vid. Cypria. pp. l. 3. ep. 11.

Thence also came the Rails about the Table, I mean, the Differences of Communions, Clerical and Laical, (to wit) to raise the Reputation and Credit of the Clergy, and withal to make their Censures the more solemn and awful; as also that the Clergy, who were obliged to a stricter and more exemplary life, if they did not live it, might have a peculiar Punishment; which was to be thrust from the Clerical Communion, and be degraded to that of the Laity. In fine, hence, Publick Confessions and rigorous shaming Penances in all the Decrees of them [*Fletus, Auditio, Substractio, Consistentia*] had their beginning; and also solemn Absolutions, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop and of the Presbyters; Which things, as being only Human and Politick, tho' not unnecessary for the Time, are all of them alterable, and some actually altered.

Again, as Controversies arose in the Churches, either about Matters of Doctrin or of Discipline, the Apostles, while they lived and were in a Condition (those especially which founded such particular Churches where they arose) did take care to end such Differences, and were accordingly repaired unto for that purpose. Thus, in the Business of *Antioch* Appeal is made unto all the Apostles, and for the *Corinthians, Galatian, &c.* S. *Paul* particularly cared.

But after the Decease of the Apostles, or a Failure of the Apostolical Infallible Guidance by other means, the Controversies that arose in any Church, became determined by the Common Counsel and Advice of other Churches, either by their Letters, or by a solemn Discussion and Debate in an Assembly of Bishops and Elders, in Provincial Councils. We do not read indeed of any Rule for this Practice, but the Light of Nature or Common Reason directed it; and there was something too that did lead unto it in the first Assembly at *Jerusalem*: For as the Apostles and Elders were appealed unto by them of *Antioch*, so the whole Church was convented, and the Business considered and debated by the whole, and by the whole resolved.

In sum, the Churches of Christ in this separate State subsisted by themselves, like so many little Republicks, as being only in the World, but not of it, and therefore concerned not themselves in any Business with the Secular Powers: And yet seeing their Members were Men as well as others, and in the World as well as others, and consequently liable to Passions and Misgovernment, to Common Accidents of Providence, and to Differences too, arising in Worldly Matters, it was absolutely necessary that some Provision should be made, in all these Respects, in the

Church

Church it self, by Officers on purpose, or else (since there was no other Remedy) all would run to Confusion. Hence, as the Ancient Christians had Deacons for the Poor, so they had *Widows* (as the Apostle calls them) or Elders, who, to prevent the Scandal of their going to Law before the Heathen, determined Matters by way of Arbitration, and likewise restrained and suppressed exorbitant and evil Manners, by censuring them: Out of the Church, to provide for the Poor, to end Controversies between Man and Man, and to punish evil doing, was the Business of the Magistrate.

And this reminds me of the Third State of the Church, when Magistrates and Powers becoming Christians, the Christian Religion was taken by them into Civil Protection, and became incorporated into the Laws, as that of *Israel* was into theirs, so that now States became Churches; a State professing Christianity being a National Church, and a National Church nothing but a Christian Nation; in a Word, a Holy Commonwealth.

Great was the Alteration that was made in the Government and Face of the Church in this Condition, from what it was before; for after the time that Emperours became Christian, and that they shewed Kindness to the Church, the *Hierarchy* became a Secular thing, it being in this State, that *That* and the Power of Councils attained to their full Growth; but yet, in several Countries, by several Steps and Occasions. *Lazius* in his Commentary of the *Roman* Commonwealth, *lib.* 1. *fol.* 22. tells us, That the Episcopal Dioceses of the Christian Religion, do, by many very great Tokens represent the *Roman* Antiquity; and well he might, for it is plain the Form of Civil Administration after the *Roman* Empire became Christian (and in some degrees before,) was imitated in the Church, and that both in the Provinces and Bounds of the Empire, and in the City it self.

Laz. com. reip. Rom. l. 1. *f.* 141, *&c.*

For *as* the *Roman* Empire was divided into several Pretorics, which Pretories were called *Pretorian Dioceſſes or Sees*, and these Pretories again (were) subdivided into Provinces; and that in every Pretory there was a Prefect (of the Pretory) who resided in the Metropolis, called *Sedes prima*, to administer and rule the Dioceſs; and under the Prefect, in the several *Provinces*, there were other Principal Officers, called Presidents, to rule and govern *them*; So in the Church there were the Metropolitan Primates, or Archbishops, who were seated in the Metropolis or Capital Cities, and answered to the Prefects of the Pretories; and there were Bishops that resided in the Inferious Cities, who were called Suffragan Bishops, and those resembled the Presidents of the Provinces: I, and the Parallel holds out further, since a Person (as *Joseph Scaliger* observes) might be a Bishop with Archiepiscopal Ornaments, and yet not be an Archbishop, in like manner as one might be an Officer with Consular Ornaments and yet not be a Consul. The same *Scaliger*, in his Epistles, *lib.* 2 *ep.* 184. also acquaints us, That, in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, there were four Prefects of Pretories, the Prefect of the Pretorium of *Constantinople*, the *Illirian* Prefect, the Prefect of the Pretorium of *Rome*, and the Prefect of the Pretorium in the *Gallia*; Adding, that seeing the Prefect of the Pretorium was of the same Degree that at this Day a Vice-Roy is, he had under him *Vicars*, and the Vicar, he saith, was the

Of. Scal. l. 4. 345.

the Governour of a Diocefs, or one that had under him a whole Diocefs, and a Diocefs was a Government that contained under it ſeveral Metropolies or Capital Cities, as a Metropolis had under it ſeveral Cities. He further adds, That the Eccleſiaſtical Biſhop of a Diocefs, who was in the ſame degree with an Imperial Vicar, was called by the Greeks a Patriarch, and among the Latines was a Primate of Primates, as the Biſhop of *Vienna*, who had under him two Primates, the Primate of *Aquitain* and the Primate of *Narbona*; *Igitur* (ſaith *Scaliger*) *eodem ordine & gradu* Patriarcha, *quo &* Vicarius *præfectus Imperatoris, uterque enim Diœceſios eſt* διοικητης, *hic* ἐν πνευματικοις, *ut Canones loquuntur, ille* ἐν πνευματικοις: And (ſays *Barlaam*, and indeed the whole Greek Church) the Deference and Reſpect that was rendred to the See of *Rome*, by the Fathers, was ſo, in this regard (and only in this,) becauſe that City was the principal Seat of the Empire. *Barlaam de Papæ princip. c. 5.*

Mr. *Thorndick*, in his Book *De rat. & jure fin. conſtitu. c.* 22. agrees in this Sentiment, and is very particular. *Regiminis forma* (ſaith he) *quam in Imperium à* Conſtantino *introductam diximus, in præfectorum prætorio poteſtate Juris dicundi ſupremo loco à principali, ſita fuit. Nam præfecto prætorio Galliarum ſubierat Galliarum Vicarius, qui Treviris ſedebat. Vicarius Hiſpaniarum, qui ut videtur Tarracone: Vicarius Britannarum, qui Eboraci; propterea enim concilio Arelatenſi primus ſubſcribit Eboracenſis*, &c. The ſenſe of which I find in Dr. *Stillingfleet*, (now Biſhop of *Worceſter*) when he ſays, in his *Rational Account*, part 2. ch. 5. f. 394, 395. 'For 'our better underſtanding the Force and Effect of this *Nicene Canon*, we muſt caſt 'our Eye a little upon the Civil Diſpoſition of the Roman Empire by *Conſtantine*, 'then lately altered from the former Diſpoſition of it under *Auguſtus* and *Adrian*. 'He therefore diſtributed the Adminiſtration of the Government of the Roman 'Empire under four *Præfecti Prætorio*, but for the more convenient Management of 'it, the whole Body of the Empire was caſt into ſeveral Juriſdictions, containing 'many Provinces within them, which were in the Law called Dioceſſes, over 'every one of which there was appointed a Vicarius or Lieutenant, to one of the '*Præfecti Prætorio*, whoſe Reſidence was in the chief City of the Diocefs, where 'the Pretorium was, and Juſtice was adminiſtred to all within that Diocefs, and 'thither Appeals were made; under theſe were thoſe Pro-conſuls or Correctores, 'who ruled in the particular Provinces, and had their Reſidence in the Metropolis 'of it, under whom were the particular Magiſtrates of every City: Now, ac-'cording to this Diſpoſition of the Empire, the Weſtern Parts of it contained in 'it ſeven of theſe Dioceſſes, as, under the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, was the 'Diocefs of *Gaul*, which contained ſeventeen Provinces, The Diocefs of *Britain*, 'which contained five (afterwards but three, in *Conſtantine*'s Time;) the Diocefs 'of *Spain* ſeven. Under the *Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ*, was the Diocefs of *Africa*, 'which had ſix Provinces; the Diocefs of *Italy*, whoſe ſeat was *Millain*, ſeven; 'the Diocefs of *Rome* ten. Under the *Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici*, was the Diocefs 'of *Illyricum*, in which were ſeventeen Provinces. In the Eaſtern Diviſion were 'the Cioceſs of *Thrace*, which had ſix Provinces, the Diocefs of *Pontus* eleven, 'and ſo the Diocefs of *Aſia*, the *Oriental*, (properly ſo called) wherein *Antioch* 'was, fifteen: All which were under the *Præfectus Prætorio Orientis*. The *Ægyp-*

'*tian* Diocess, which had six Provinces, was under the *Præfectus Augustalis*; in 'the time of *Theodosius the elder*: *Illyricum* was divided into two Diocesses; the '*Eastern*, whose Metropolis was *Thessalonica*, and had eleven Provinces; the '*Western*, whose Metropolis was *Syrmium*, and had six Provinces. According to 'this Division of the Empire, we may better understand the Affairs and Govern-'ment of the Church, which was modelled much after the same way, unless where 'Ancient Custom or the Emperour's Edict did cause any variation. For as the Cities 'had their Bishops, so the Provinces had their Archbishops, and the Diocesses 'their Primates, whose Jurisdiction extended as far as the Diocess did; and as 'the *Conventus Juridici* were kept in the Chief City of the Diocess for Matters of 'Civil Judicature, so the Chief Ecclesiastical Councils for the Affairs of the 'Church, were to be kept there too; for which there is an express Passage in the '*Codex* of *Theodosius*, whereby Care is taken that the same Course should be used in 'Ecclesiastical which was in Civil Matters; so that such things which concerned 'them should be heard in the Synod of the Diocess.

This Adjustment of the Church to the Civil State in those times, might happily be furthered by a Consideration, That even in the first and best there was something that resembled it; for what the Apostles *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to do κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, in every Church, *Titus*, when he did the same, is said to do it κατὰ πόλιν, in every City; as if to ordain Presbyters in every Church, and to do it in every City, was but one thing, and that Churches, at that Time, were only settled in Cities, and but one Church in one City; as indeed at first before the enlarging and spreading of Christianity, it seems to have been ordinarily.

See Dr. Burnet's Abridgment of the Hist. of the Reformation B. 1. f. 107. And his Hist. of the Rights of Princes. Spelm. Glossar. ad Voc: homag. Vid. Albert. Krantzin. Metrop. l. 1. c. 26. & 30. l. 4. c. 2, 19. & 21. l. 3. c. 1, 5. &c. Socrat. Schol. hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 20.

But whatever induced it, it is certain that Christian Emperours and Kings (particularly the famous *Constantine* and *Charles the Great*) did out of a pious Zeal incorporate the Church into the State, strengthen it with Laws, and accomodate it and conform it; but yet so, that notwithstanding that Incorporation, the two Jurisdictions were still kept too much divided; the Church had Officers of its own linked each to other by a mutual Dependance, Courts of its own, and Councils of its own too, as well as the State.

I say too much divided, for as it is true, That the Church at first did hold its Politick Administration in some subordination unto Emperours and Kings; that these both called and directed Councils, gave Investiture to Bishops, and at last claimed Homage from them; And that Archbishops that received their Palls from the Pope, did yet receive their *Ferula* (the Ensigns of their Jurisdiction) from the Emperours: so, tho' this were something, it seems however to have been an Errour in the first Projectors, that they made not this Subordination and Dependance greater, since by this Omission Empires and Kingdoms were in a manner put into a State of War, by setting up in them divided separate Jurisdictions.

I acknowledg the Errour though great, and pardonable only to the Zeal and unexperience of the Times, remained undiscovered for a while, to wit, till the Church had found its own Legs; but then, changing *Tenure*, and claiming *Jure Divino*, the Hierarchy began to strike at the Heads of those who had raised and exalted it, and then Emperours and Kings themselves

themſelves muſt be bearded, and threatned too on all Occaſions with the Spiritual Sword, by Men, who, but for the Temporal, might ſtill have lived upon Alms. In fine, the Kingdom and Prieſthood every where contended for Superiority, and not a Government but had its *Guelfs*, and its *Gibellines*, and then no wonder if *Jure divino* for the moſt part did carry the point, eſpecially before the Reformation. This Error was the leſs Excuſable, becauſe it was a departure from the great, and in truth, the only Example of a Holy Kingdom, which ſuch pious Politicians could propoſe to themſelves, I mean, that of the Hebrews, in which, though matters that were purely mattes of Religion, were diſtinguiſht from matters purely Civil; the matters of God, from the matters of the King; yet the Juriſdictions that related to them were not Divided; the ſame Senate (only in diſtinct Capacities) as it was compoſed of Fathers, as well as of Prieſts and Levites, ſo it had the Cognizance of all matters; nothing diſtinguiſhed the Court in reſpect of the Two kinds of Cauſes, Religious, and Secular, but that it had Two Preſidents, (which, poſſibly were to take the Chair as the nature of the Cauſe required,) *Amariah* was over them in matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* in matters of the King, and all by an Authority and Power derived from the King as Sovereign, and Supream in all. *Moreover in Jeruſalem did Jehoſaphat ſet*, &c. *Vid.* Buxt. *Lexic. Rab. ad voc.* הדרין 2 Chron. 19. 8.

In truth, the Church having ſubmitted to receive Incorporation into the Civil State, or being favoured with it, (for you may take it either way), it was no longer obliged to continue a Divided Separate Juriſdiction; for the Reaſon of the Churches ſeparate Juriſdiction now failing, (the Magiſtrate being become Chriſtian, and conſequently Ayding,) the Juriſdiction that it had before muſt fail with it, and ſo revert to the Magiſtrate. And Reaſon good it ſhould, and that by a reaſon taken even from the nature of Government; for there ought to be, and indeed there can be, but one Spri g and Fountain of Juriſdiction, in one Kingdom and Government. Beſides, Eccleſiaſtical Government cannot reach but to the External Actions of Men, and therefore is very improperly called Spiritual, ſince it is not Internal; and the External Actions of Men, as ſuch, do properly come under the Cogniſance of the Magiſtrate, [he being ordained to be the Avenger of all evil doing, as well as for the praiſe of them that do well;] and then nothing can remain for the Church to do, unleſs the ſame Actions muſt be ſubjected to the Cogniſance of divided unſubordinate Juriſdictions; which ſhould they be, would breed a great Confuſion, (which I muſt inſiſt upon;) and be a great Injuſtice. Breed great Confuſion, for that a Perſon in the ſame Cauſe, ſhould be abſolved by one Juriſdiction, and be condemned by another, and this without any means of Compoſure; for Example, that he ſhould be acquitted at the Aſſizes by Twelve of the Neighbourhood, and yet be Convicted in the Biſhops Court, (which may well happen where the Juriſdictions are divided, and then no means is left neither of any Compoſure, if they are alſo unſubordinated,) this is Confuſion: As, that he ſhould be twice Condemned, and puniſh'd twice for one Fact, would be great Injuſtice. *Socrat. Proem. lib. 5.*

As for ſingle Congregations, they are only as ſo many little Fraternities, Gilds, or Corporations, and conſequently may have Conſtitutions and By-Laws of their own, as theſe have, without the leaſt danger or other prejudice that can be thought of to the States that permit, or protect them.

Certainly the Kingdom of Chriſt, the true Hierarchy, is a Kingdom that is not Secular, or of this World, that is, it is not an External but a Spiritual Kingdom, a Power erected in the Hearts and Conſciences of Men, in which he Rules and Governs by his Word and Spirit; and therefore it doth not, it cannot as ſuch, pretend to any Juriſdiction (properly ſo called), there being no Juriſdiction (properly ſo called) without Coercion and Compulſion, and Coercion and Compulſion is a way that is not uſed by Chriſt. All the Subjects of Chriſt are Volunteers and Freemen, whom as he brings into his Kingdom, ſo he keeps in it, only by Perſwaſions, Exhortations, Counſels, and ſuch like Methods. And this *Tertullian* believed, who, in *L. ad Scap.* ſays, *Humani Juris & naturalis eſt unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec aliis aut obeſt aut prodeſt alterius religio: ſed nec religionis eſt cogere religionem, quæ Sponte ſuſcipi debeat, non vi, &c.* 'It is the firſt and chief right of 'humane nature, for every man to worſhip what he thinks he ought; nor does the 'Religion of one, either hurt, or profit another, nor can it be any Religion to Com-'pel Religion; Religion ought to be taken up of Choice, and not by force or con-'ſtraint, *&c.*] So far gone was that Father for Liberty of Conſcience; However, it muſt be confeſſed, That if any Perſons refuſe to obſerve the Rules of Chriſtian Society (and particularly the Rules of that Society of which they are Members) it is but reaſon that they ſhould leave it; and if otherwiſe they will not, that they be conſtrained to leave it: But this by the by

To be ſure, the Eſſential Church hath no one Form of External Government aſſigned to it in the whole; and it was as great wiſdom not to ſettle any in particular, for National Churches: for ſeeing the Church muſt be Extended into all Nations, the Government and Policy of it muſt be of a nature either Ambulatory, ſo as to be accommodated upon Occaſion, or (it muſt be) ſuch an one as without interfering with them, can conſiſt with all the ſeveral Forms of Civil and Secular Government. In my Judgment the Lord *Bacon* ſpeaks excellently well to this matter, when he ſays, 'I for my part do confeſs, That in revolving the 'Scriptures, I could never find any ſuch thing [as one Form of Diſcipline in all 'Churches, and that impoſed by neceſſity of a Commandment and Preſcript out of 'the Word of God,] but that God had left the like liberty to the Church-Go-'vernment, as he had done to the Civil Government, to be varied according to 'Time, and Place, and Accidents, which nevertheleſs his high and Divine Pro-'vidence doth order and diſpoſe: for all Civil Governments are reſtrained from 'God to the ſeveral Grounds of Juſtice and Manners, but the Policies and Forms 'of them are left free; ſo that Monarchies and Kingdoms, Senates and Signories, 'Popular States, and Communalties are lawful, and where they are planted, ought 'to be maintained inviolate. So likewiſe in Church matters, the ſubſtance of 'Doctrin is immutable, and ſo are the General Rules of Government; but for 'Rites and Ceremonies, and for the particular Hierarchies, Policies, and Diſci-

'pline

'pline of Churches, they be left at large; and therefore it is good, we return unto 'the Ancient bounds of Unity, in the Church of God, which was one Faith, one 'Baptism, and not one Hierarchy, one Discipline, and that we observe the 'League of Christians, as it is penned by our Saviour, which is in substance of 'Doctrin, thus: He that is not with us is against us; but of things indifferent, and 'of Circumstance, he that is not against us is with us. *Bacon*'s Considerations touching Pacification, *in Resuscit. fol.* 237, 238.

This Sentiment of that Excellent Person will be much confirmed, if we consider Church Policy but in one important Instance, the calling of Bishops; for this, as it has received frequent Alteration, and been very different in different times and Countries, so it was All upon prudential regards: In *Cyprian*'s time, as in that of the Apostles, it was as it were *Jussu populi, Authoritate Senatus*; by *Choice* of the People, and *appointment* of other Bishops; How it is now, All know; and in the intermediate times it has not always been after one manner but various, according unto various times and occasions.

In short, the business of Pastors and Teachers, who are permanent and standing Officers in the Church of Christ, is to feed the Flock, by preaching and administring the Sacraments, and, on occasion, to denounce Eternal Torments (the true Spiritual Censure;) And this will be their business to the Worlds end. But for External Rule and Jurisdiction, this being but accidental to their Office, and arising only from the particular Circumstance in which the Church was, while separate from the State, now that the Magistrate is Christian, it doth entirely devolve upon him; the Christian Magistrate is the Ruling Presbyter, and whom he appoints as Overseers of the Poor, may be called the Deacons.

It is certain, that in our English Constitution, (not to speak of the French, and that of other Foreign Kingdoms,) however some may talk of *Jure divino*, all Government or Jurisdiction, the Spiritual (as they call it,) as well as the Temporal, is derived from the King; who, in this sense, is supream Ordinary, Bishop, and Governour, in all Causes, and therefore in all Courts and Jurisdictions. This is evident both as to the Legislative part of the Government, and to the strictly Jurisdictive; for, as my Author tells me, out of the British Councils, All the Church-Laws in the time of the Saxons were made in the *Micklemote*: And indeed it were easie to evince, that most of the Ancient Synods and Councils in *England*, as well as in other Countries, were meer Parliaments. As for the Consistory Court, which every Archbishop and the Bishop of the Dioceſs hath, as holden before his Chancellor or Commissary, this seems not to have been divided from the Hundred or County Court, before a Mandate was given to that purpose by *William* the Conqueror, the Exemplification of which Mandate is in Mr. *Dugdale*, in his *Appendix ad Hist. Eccles. Cathol. St. Pauli, f.* 196. 'Before the Normans 'entrance, says Mr *Dugdale*, from Sir *H. Spelman*, the Bishops sate in the Hundred 'Court with the Lord of the Hundred, as he did in the County Court with the 'Earls, in the Sheriffs Turn, with the Sheriff.

Nath. Bacon, His Discourse. Part. 1. *c.* 1.

See *Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire* in the Preface.

But to set out the matter by more Authentick Records; In the Statute of Provisors it is affirmed, 'That the Church of *England* was founded in the State 'of Prelacy by *Edward* the First, (Grand-father to *Edward* the Third) and his 'Progenitors.' And in 25th of *Henry* the Eighth, Chap. 19. in the Submission of the Clergy, *these acknowledge*, (as they say) *according to Truth*, 'That the 'Convocation of the same Clergy is, always hath been, and ought to be Assem-'bled, only by the King's Writ, *and farther promise in Verbo Sacerdotis*, that they 'will never from henceforth presume to attempt, alledge, claim or put in ure, 'enact, promulge, or exact any new Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, Pro-'vincial, or other, or by whatsoever name they shall be called in the Convocation, 'unless the King's most Royal Assent and Licence may to them be had, to make, 'promulge, and exact the same, and that his Majesty do give his most Royal Assent 'and Authority in that behalf. *And it was then enacted*, That the King should at 'his pleasure assign and nominate 32 Persons of his Subjects, whereof 16 to be 'of the Clergy, and 16 of the Temporality, of the upper and lower House of 'Parliament, who should have Power and Authority to view, search and examine 'the Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances Provincial and Synodal heretofore 'made, and with his Majesty's Assent under his Great Seal, to continue such as they 'judge worthy to be kept, and to abolish, and abrogate the residue, which they 'shall Judge and Deem worthy to be abolished. *It was also provided in the same 'Act*, That no Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances shall be made or put in 'Execution within this Realm by Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy, 'which shall be contrary to the King's Prerogative Royal, or to the Customs, 'Laws or Statutes of this Realm, [there the Ecclesiastical Legislation is subject-ed to the King.] *And enacted*, 'That it shall be lawful for any Party grieved in 'any of the Courts of the Archbishops of this Realm to appeal to the King's Maje-'sty in the Court of Chancery, upon which Appeal a Commission is to be directed 'under the Great Seal, to Persons named by the King, his Heirs or Successors, which 'Commissioners have full power to hear, and finally determine upon such Appeal; [And here the Jurisdiction of the Church is acknowledged to be originally in the King, and derived from him; for there the Sovereign Supream Power lodges, where the last appeal, the last Resort is.]

Add, that in the first Year of *Edward* VI. in an Act entituled An Act for Elect-on of Bishops, *it was enacted*, 'That none but the King by his Letters Patents shall 'collate to any Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick. *It was also declared*, That the use 'of Archbishops, and Bishops, and other Spiritual Persons to make, and send out 'Summons in their own names, was contrary to the form, and order of the Sum-'mons and Process of the Common Law used in this Realm, seeing that All Au-'thority of Jurisdiction, Spiritual and Temporal, is derived, and deduced from 'the King's Majesty, as Supream Head of these Churches and Realms of *England* 'and *Ireland*, and so Justly acknowledged by the Clergy of the said Realms. *It was therefore enacted*, 'That all Courts Ecclesiastical, within the said Two 'Realms, be kept by no other Power or Authority either Foreign, or within this 'Realm, but by the Authority of the King's Majesty, and that all Summons and

'Citations,

'Citations, and other Proceſs Eccleſiaſtical be made in the name, and with the 'Style of the King, as it is in his Writs Original and Judicial at the Common 'Law. *And it is further enacted*, 'That all manner of Perſons that have the Ex-'ercise of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall have the King's Arms in their Seals of 'Office, *&c.*

This Act was paſſed in a Parliament of the Profeſſion of the Church of *England* in 1 *Eward* 6*th.* and though it were repealed by one of another Character in 1 *Maria*; yet this repealing Statute being again repealed in 1*ſt* of *James* 1. 25. it ſeems plain that that of the firſt Year of *Edward* the Sixth is revived: But ſuppoſing it is not; yet, in that caſe, though the Conſtitutive part remain void, the *Declarative* will ſtill ſtand good, as ſhewing the Common Law. Nor doth the late Act of 13 *Car.* 2. *ch.* 12. that reſtored the Biſhops only to their ordinary and lawful Juriſdiction, Inveſt them in any new, or any that is unlawful at the Common Law, or that is contrary to the Prerogative of our Kings.

All that I have ſaid on this Occaſion might receive a further Confirmation (were there need of more) by the famed Character of King *Kenulphus* made to the Abbot of *Abington*, in which was a grant of Exemption from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; as there alſo was in that of *King Offa* made to the Monaſtry of S. *Albans*; *by* the Title of King *Edgar*, who ſtiled himſelf Vicar of God in Eccleſiaſticals, *by* the Offering that *Wolſtan* made of his Staff and Ring (the Enſigns of his Epiſcopacy) at the Tomb of *Edward* the Confeſſor; *by* the Petition of the Archbiſhop and Clergy at the Coronation of our Kings; *by* the form of the King's Writ for Summoning a Convocation, and *of* the Royal Licence that is commonly granted before the Clergy and Convocation can go upon any particular Debates. In fine, *by* the Statutes relating to Excommunication, that do both direct and limit the Execution of that Cenſure, and the proceedings upon it, as to Capias's, *&c.*

And thus much for Church-Government, in the Third State of the Church, as it is become incorporated by Civil Powers: In diſcourſing of which I have made it plain, That as no National Draught is of our Lord Chriſt's, or his Apoſtles deſigning; ſo that National Churches are all of Human Inſtitution, and their Government Ambulatory, that is, Alterable according as Times and Occaſions, and as the Forms of Civil Governments in States, that do incorporate the Church, oblige it to be, to make it fit and ſuitable. I am,

SIR,

Your Humble Servant.

THE

THE THIRD LETTER.

SIR,

I Have always acknowledged ſome Epiſcopacy to be of Primitive Antiquity; but you will pleaſe to remember, I have likewiſe ſhewed, that that Epiſcopacy was Presbyterial not Prelatical; Congregational not Dioceſan; And that the Primitive Biſhop was only a firſt Presbyter, that is, a Chairman in the College of Presbyters, and not (as in the Dioceſan Hierarchy,) a Prelate of a ſuperior Order that preſided over ſeveral Congregational Churches, and was inveſted with the Power of ſole Ordination and Juriſdiction; much leſs was he an Officer that kept Courts, that had under him Chancellours, Commiſſaries, Officials, Regiſters, Apparitors, *&c.* and that judged [*per ſe aut per alium*] in certain reſerved Caſes.

To make this out, I preſented to you a Scheme of the Government of the Church, both as it was eſtabliſhed and ſettled by the Apoſtles, and as it was afterwards: I ſhewed, That the Apoſtles in all their Inſtitutions did carefully avoid any Imitation of the Temple-Orders, to which Orders the Prelatical Hierarchy doth plainly conform. I ſhewed alſo, That the Government ſettled by the Apoſtles was only Congregational, the Apoſtles in planting of Churches proceeding only after the Model and Way of the Synagogues. Ay! all the Churches that we read of in Scripture, that were conſtituted by the Apoſtles, were only Congregational, not National or Provincial; that is, they were as ſo many little Republicks, each conſiſting of a Senate or Elderſhip, with the Authority, and of a People with the Power; but all independant one of another, and all poſſeſſed of all that Juriſdiction and Authority over their Members, that was to be ſtanding and ordinary. For this Reaſon, tho' every Congregation was but a part, and a ſmall one, yet it had the Denomination of the whole, every particular Congregation was ſtiled a *Church*.

This will appear more evident, if we conſider, That the Intereſt of the People had

had at first, and long after, (for above 150 Years) in the Ordination of Officers, was very great. It is true, the Word [*Ordination*] or that which answers to it in the *Greek*, is never used throughout the whole *New Testament*, for the making of Evangelical Officers, nor did it, in this Sense, come into use among Christians till after the Christian Church began to accommodate to the Language, as well as to the Orders of the Jewish. But then, as the People was called *Laity* and *Plebs*, so the Clergy was called *Ordo*, and this in the same Sense of the Word, as when we read of the Order of *Aaron*, and of that of *Melchisedeck*; and then too, the calling of any Person to the Ministry, as it was a calling of him to be of the Clergy or Order, so it was stiled an Ordination, Ordination being nothing but the placing of a Person in the Order of the Clergy.

But tho' the Word [*Ordination*] was not as yet in use, in the first Times, the Thing was, which is the Creation of Officers in the Church; and in this the People possess'd so great a share (which is a very good Argument of the Church's being framed at first after the Model and Way of Republicks) that even the Action it self is called *Chirotonia* by S. *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and ever since by the *Greek Fathers*. Ay, the Creation of Officers is not usually called *Chirothesia*; for *this* with the Greek Fathers was the Word that was mostly, if not always, used for Confirmation, not for Ordination, tho' Imposition of Hands, the Ceremony signified by that Word, was the Rite which was used by the Jews in creating of Rabbies and Doctors: the Act of *Ordination* is usually, if not always denominated *Chirotonia*, or Extension of Hands, which, in the Greek Republicks, was the Name or Word for the Popular Suffrage.

Indeed *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to *Chirotonize*, or, as our Translators render the Word, *Acts* 14. 23. *To ordain them Elders in every Church*. But (says Mr. *Harrington*) they are said to do so, but in the same Sense that the *Proedri*, who were Magistrates, to whom it belonged to put the Question in the Representative of the People of *Athens*, are, in *Demosthenes*, said διαχειροτονίαν ποιεῖν, to make the Suffrage; and the *Thesmotheta*, who were Presidents in the Creation of Magistrates, are in *Pollux* said στρατήγους χειροτονεῖν, to chirotonize the *Strategi*, who yet, ever since the Institution of *Cliethenes*, that distributed the People into ten Tribes, were always used to be elected and made by the Popular Suffrage. Nor was this manner of Speaking peculiar unto the Greeks, but, as *Calvin*, in his Institutions *l.* 4. *c.* 4. *f.* 15. observes, it was a common Form used also by the Roman Historians, who say, That the Consul created Officers, when he only presided at the Election, and gathered the Votes [of the People.] *Et c'est uniforme commune de parler: comme les Historiens disent quun Consul creoit des Officiers, quand il recevoit le voix du peuple, & presedoit sur l'election.*

Ub. Exam. in descr. reip. Athen. Plut. in vit. Phoc.

So plain it is that S. *Luke*, in saying that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did *chirotonize* the Elders, intended to signifie no more, but that the Elders were made by the Suffrage of the People, *Paul* and *Barnabas* presiding at the Election, and declaring or making the *Crisis*: and so the New Latin Translation in *Beza* and *Piscator* renders the Text,, *Quumque ipsis per suffragia creassent*, &c.

I know that some have told us, That *Josephus* uses the Word with reference

unto God, he saying, that *God did chirotonize Aaron thrice*, and therefore to chirotonize is not always to be taken for the Popular Suffrage; Nor is chirotonizing always taken so. But supposing that the Word [*Chirotonize*] was used by *Josephus*, as afterwards it came to be by others, in a second Sense, for any Creation of Officers in general, yet in the primary and proper use it signifies the Popular Suffrage; for *Chirotonia* in *Suidas* is πάντων ἐκλογὴ, κύρωσις· *Election, Ratification made by All.* And this also was the common Use of the Word at that time when, and in the Places (most of them Republicks) where the Apostles are said to chirotonize: And certainly no Man can imagine with Reason, That the making of Elders in its first Institution should be called *Chirotonia*, and bear the Name of the Suffrage of the People, especially in that time, and in such places, had these Elders been made in any other manner than by the popular Suffrage; for then the name of the Action would have been distinctive or proper, as all Original Names of things are used to be.

Besides, what if it should be said, (as indeed it is by Mr. *Harrington*) that when the Congregation or People of *Israel*, upon the several miraculous Appearances in favour of *Aaron*, did recognize him again and again for High Priest, this *Chirotonia* of the People was the *Chirotonia* of God? Why might not God as President of the Congregation in that Theocracy, as well be said (as he is by *Josephus*) to chirotonize when the People did, as the *Proedri* who presided in the Assembly of the People at *Athens*, be said, by *Demosthenes* to make the *Diachirotonia*; the *Thesmothetæ* by *Pollux*, to *Chirotonize* the *Strategi*; and the Consul who presided at the Election of Officers at *Rome*, be said by the Roman Historians, to create these Officers?

As for the *Diachirotonia*, tho' you think it the Act only of the Magistrates, not of the People, because *Hesychius* says, διαχειροτονία ἐστὶ διάκρισις τῆς χειροτονίας, you will give me leave to acquaint you, that the *Diachirotonia* was as much the Act of the People, or of those suffrages, as the *Chirotonia* it self (was.) For those that suffraged or made the *Chirotonia*, are said, in cases of competition, to *Diachirotanize*, because then, by their Suffrages, they did distinguish one of the Competitors from the other, and he of the Competitors that was distinguished to his Advantage, as carrying the Office by most Voices, was said to be *Diachirotonized*, and a Declaration was made, That he was elected, which Declaration was called *Crisis*. All this is evident from *Plato*, who treating (*l.* 6. *de leg.*) concerning the Election of the *Strategi*, in case of Competition, says, ὁπότερος δ' ἂν δόξῃ διαχειροτονεμένοις, εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐγκρινέσθω· *whoever appears to be Diachirotonized*, [or to have most Voices] *be it declared* [let the *Crisis* be] *that he is elected.* Here he distinguishes very plainly between the *Diachirotonia*, which he attributes to those that suffraged, and the *Crisis* or declarative Judgment, which was the Act of those that *presided*: But he does it afterward more plainly, when ordaining that the same Rule that was observed in the making of the *Strategi*, should be also observed in that of the *Taxiarchi*, he says, *Let the same be observed both as to the* Epichirotonia *and the* Crisis; that is, as to the Suffrage and to the Resolve: So that *Hesychius* his διάκρισις χειροτονίας, must be interpreted a Discrimination, or preference made by Suffrage.

As

As for the Jurisdiction of the Apostles, I make no doubt but that the Apostles, who were *Elders* as well as Apostles, 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. acted in setled Congregations, where any of them happen'd to be or to reside, with the Elders of such Congregations, in that Capacity of Elders; but as this Authority was not properly or purely Apostolical, so that which was, both that I call the Essential, that was incident to the Apostles, as they founded the Church, and the Accidental, that was incident to them, as they founded particular Churches, was Extraordinary and peculiar, as being only for that emergent Occasion, and not for Continuance. To speak generally, governing the Churches was as much an ordinary Work as Preaching, and was common to all the Elders, whether Apostles or not; but to do it in such a particular manner, with such a Rod, and with so large a Superintendence, as, in some cases, the Apostles did, was extraordinary and peculiar to them. No Officers that are now can pretend to a Rod like that of the Apostles, *Acts* 5. 3, 4, 5, *&c.* 1 *Cor.* 4. 21. and therefore none that are now can exercise such a Discipline as they did. Those that will truly evidence that the Prelatical Hierarchy is Apostolical, ought to demonstrate, that besides the Officers setled in all particular Churches, to feed and govern them, the Apostles and Evangelists setled others, as a kind of Visitors General, over all, or over many Churches together, with the same Authority that themselves had exercised, and this for continuance, without this nothing is done to any purpose.

As for the Transaction 1 *Cor.* 5. I am still of the mind it was wholly extraordinary, and that it cannot be drawn into Example. The Apostle says, *When you are gathered together, and my Spirit,* σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, [not with the Authority, but] *with the* (mighty) *power of the Lord Christ,* [to the end] *to deliver such an one unto Satan.* Whence it follows very clearly, That without the Apostles Spirit, and the mighty Power of Christ, the Corinthians were unable to deliver that Incestuous to Satan; for else I see no Reason why they should have the *Conjunction* and Assistance of these, [the Apostles *Spirit* and Christ's *Power*] for that end, since then there would be no need of it. And if they could not deliver the Incestuous to Satan without the Assistance of the Apostolical Spirit, and the mighty Power of Christ, it also follows, that to deliver to Satan, was not meerly to excommunicate, eject or suspend him, since this was so much in their own Power, that they might have done it of themselves, without such Extraordinary and Miraculous Aids. To be sure, this Effect, whatever it was, if it bore (as every Effect must do) proportion unto its cause, it must be something that was Extraordinary; for it came not only from the Spirit of the Apostle, but also from the Miraculous Power of Christ, for such a Power that is, which Δύναμις signifies, as is evident, *Acts* 1. 8.

'Tis true, you infer from 1 *Cor.* 5. 2. That the Corinthians could not put away the Incestuous without a new Commission from the Apostle, who was their Bishop, and consequently you understand the Power was given to them, only of a Commission or Authority. But on the contrary, the Word used for Power is (as I have said before) δύναμις (not ἐξουσία,) a Word that commonly signifies Strength, not Authority. Besides, if this putting away v. 2. must be understood (as certainly it must) of the same putting away with that v. 13. nothing can be

plainer

plainer than that it was a Cenſure the People could and ought to have made of themſelves, without expecting any new Commiſſion; as being in a matter that by the Apoſtles own Conceſſion, they had a proper Cogniſance of, and over a Perſon too, whoſe competent Judges they were; as the ſame Apoſtle tells them, *Do not you judge them that are within, therefore put away*, &c. putting away is grounded on the Peoples Judgment, but delivery unto Satan upon the Apoſtles. And yet however putting away may well be called an ἐπιτιμία or Rebuke, and be a kind of Puniſhment; for to be excluded from the Common Society and Converſation of the Faithful, cannot deſerve a milder Expreſſion.

You ſtill inſiſt, That there is and ought to be a Diſparity of Miniſters, becauſe there was a Diſparity between the 12 Apoſtles and the 70 Diſciples, and with *Blondel* think, that the 70 continued in the ſame Office after the Aſcenſion of our Lord, that they had before; for you ſay, 'You cannot believe they withdrew their 'Hands from the Plow, or that our Saviour depoſed them from their Office, or de-'preſſed them into the Rank of private Men. But tho' you do not believe (as I know no need you ſhould) that the 70 withdrew their Hands from the Plow, or that our Saviour depoſed them from their Office, or depreſſed them into the Rank of private Men, yet, if their Office was only occaſional, that is, if they were ſent by our Saviour to the Houſe of *Iſrael*, as Meſſengers upon ſome particular Occaſions, and about a particular Buſineſs; then their Office ceaſed of Courſe at their Return, like that of a Prince's Envoy, whoſe Office ends with his Buſineſs, that is, as ſoon as his Meſſage is done, and he returned with the Account of it. I know of no Juriſdiction the 12 Apoſtles had over the 70, but am ſure, the Office and Work of the 70 (whatever it was) related but to the Jews, as being a Buſineſs only for that Time, a Time that was the *Crepuſculum* or Twi-light between the Law and Goſpel, Judaiſm and Chriſtianity, while as yet the Kingdom of Heaven was only at hand, but not come, *Luke* 10. 9. I add, That the Office of the 70 is not reckoned in the number of the Aſcenſion Gifts, *Eph.* 4. 11. And, which is more, that the Apoſtles themſelves, had they not received another, a new Commiſſion after the Reſurrection of Chriſt, they, by their former old one (which confirmed them unto *Judea*, as that of the 70 alſo did them, and which was only for a preliminary Work, *Matth.* 10. 7. as that of the 70 alſo was,) could not have had an Authority to preach the Goſpel unto the Gentiles, and ſo to lay the Foundation of the Catholick Church. And therefore the firſt Commiſſion as it was limited, ſo it was Temporary, and expired (at furtheſt) when a ſecond was given them, *Matth.* 28, 18, 19. *Acts* 1. 8. Not but that the 70 as well as the 12 had Buſineſs in the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Evangelical State; but they had it not under the Denomination of the 70, or in vertue of their firſt Commiſſion or Miſſion, but only as they came to be Officers in this Kingdom, by being conſtituted Evangeliſts, or Prophets, or Paſtors and Teachers, or Deacons, *&c.*

You offer again in Confirmation of your Notion of the Apoſtleſhip of Biſhops, that *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches in the *Revelation* were Biſhops, conſtituted by the Apoſtles with the ſame Authority themſelves had; and that the Twelve Apoſtles and *Paul* were not all the Apoſtles that the Scripture ſpeaks

ſpeaks of, for *Barnabas* and others were Apoſtles too as well as they.] I acknowledge *Barnabas* to be an Apoſtle, but I cannot acknowledge that he was an Apoſtle of the ſame Rank with the Twelve, and *Paul*; for as *Paul* himſelf diſtinguiſhes, *Gal.* 1. 1. All Apoſtles were not of the ſame Rank, but ſome were in the firſt, ſome in the ſecond Order; that is, ſome were Apoſtles ſent immediately by Chriſt himſelf, and ſo were Legates *à Latere*, and ſome were ſent, not immediately by Chriſt himſelf, but by Men. Now *Paul* inſiſts, That himſelf was an Apoſtle of the firſt Order, and in the ſame Rank with the Twelve, *Gal.* 1. 17. whereas it is plain, that *Barnabas* and all the others who are called Apoſtles, can pretend to be but of the ſecond; they being ſent, not immediately by Chriſt himſelf, as thoſe of the firſt were, but only by Man; either by the Apoſtles that were of the firſt Order, as *Timothy* and *Titus* by *Paul*, or by ſome Church, as *Barnabas*, *Acts* 11. 22. for here the Church is ſaid to ſend forth *Barnabas as their Apoſtle*; and not barely to *diſmiſs* him, as the word Imports that is uſed, *Acts* 13. 3.

Apoſtles of the ſecond Order are called alſo Evangeliſts, and it was their buſineſs to be Aſſiſtant unto thoſe of the firſt, if not always to their Perſons, yet, at leaſt, to their Work, which was to plant Churches, by making of Converſions, and ſetling Orders: And of this ſort of Apoſtles I again acknowledge *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been.

I proved in my former Paper, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangeliſts; but it ſeems, the Argument I uſed loſes all its force with you, becauſe its ſtrength, like that of the Arch-work, lies in the Combination and Concurrence, and you conſider it only in pieces; not as a whole, and all its parts together and United, but only ſeparately, and part by part.

As for *Timothy*, methinks we do too often find him with *S. Paul* in his Perambulations, to have any reaſon to conceive that he was reſident Biſhop of *Epheſus*; and for *Titus*, his Diocels ſeems too large for any ordinary Biſhop. *Crete* is famed to have had an hundred Cities in *old* time, and *Pliny* aſſures us, (*L.* 4. *c.* 12.) that in *his* there were forty, which were enough for ſo many Biſhopricks. *Titus* had it in Charge, *Tit.* 1. 5. *to ordain Elders in every City*, and to ordain Elders in every City, was to ſettle a Church in every City; ſo that if every Church muſt have a Biſhop (as ſome are confident it muſt,) then every City in *Crete* that had a Church, had alſo a Biſhop, and ſo poſſibly there were as many Biſhops and Biſhopricks in *Crete*, as there were Cities. This Conſideration, if well weighed, will much abate of the Authority of the Poſtſcript of the Epiſtle to *Titus*, in which this Evangeliſt is ſtiled the Ordained Biſhop in the Church of the *Cretians*; for according to the Language of that time, had *Titus* been indeed the Biſhop of that whole Iſland, he ought to have been ſtiled Biſhop of the Churches (and not of the Church) of the *Cretians*. But it ſeems it is taken for granted, that a Biſhop muſt have but one Church, and therefore, that *Titus* may be a Biſhop of the *Cretians*, all the Churches of *Crete* muſt be Conſolitated into one; elſe among all the Churches in *Crete*, I would fain know, which was the Church of the *Cretians*, where *Titus* reſided. If *Titus* was Biſhop over all the Churches in *Crete*, he was a Biſhop of Biſhops, and at leaſt a Metropolitan, which indeed would be moſt in favour of the Hierarchy, could it be Evidenced. But this could

not be the ſettlement that was made in *Crete*. For it would be ſtrange, that the Apoſtle ſhould appoint a Hierarchy in *Crete*, that ſhould differ from the form of Government ſetled upon the Continent by himſelf and *Barnabas*, who conſtituted Elders in every Church, without appointing (that we read) of any Superiour Biſhop or Metropolitan that ſhould have a General Care and Inſpection over the ſeveral Churches. For my part, I could not ſee how *Titus* ſhould underſtand his Commiſſion, which was to ordain Elders in every City, to carry any other Intention with reference to *Crete*, than the very ſame words do, when they are uſed to ſignifie what *Paul* himſelf, who gave him this Commiſſion, had done upon the Continent, where he and *Barnabas* ordained Elders in every Church. And therefore as *Paul* and *Barnabas* eſtabliſhed ſingle Congregations only, and Organized them with Elders, and then left them to govern themſelves by their own Intrinſick powers; So in the like manner, *Titus* eſtabliſhed Churches in every City, and Organized them with Elders, which having done, it is very probable that he returned again unto S. *Paul*, to give an account of his Commiſſion. Thus *Titus* his buſineſs in *Crete*, has the very Idea and Signature of that of an Evangeliſt, or a Secundary Apoſtle, without the leaſt Mark of an ordinary Biſhop; nor is there any hint in all the Authentick Scriptures, of his being ordained Biſhop of *Crete*, or indeed of any place elſe. And the like muſt be ſaid of *Timothy*, with reference to *Epheſus*, who was ſent to the Church there as a Viſitor only, with Apoſtolical Authority, and ſo as S. *Paul*'s Delegate. Nor it *Titus* his ordaining of Elders, a good Argument for ſole Ordination; for the word, *Tit.* 1. 5. is the ſame that is uſed in *Acts* 6. 3. in the matter of the Deacons, who were appointed by the Apoſtles (not one of the Apoſtles, but all) and choſen by the People. And one might well admire that the ſame word which is Tranſlated [appointed] in one place, ſhould be rendred [ordained] in another, but that *Titus* is ſaid to ordain, and not to appoint only, that it might look as if there were a plain Text for ſole Ordination.

But what if *Timothy* and *Titus* had a power of ſole Juriſdiction? and a power too of making Canons, for the Government of the Church? (which latter yet is an Authority that every Biſhop will not pretend unto, after their Example.) The Church then, was in a State of Separation from Secular Government, and among Heathen, juſt as the Jews are now, among Chriſtians; ſo that all it could do at that time, was to perſwade; it could not compel: And therefore it will not follow now that the Church is protected, and not only protected by, but Incorporated into, the State, that the Officers of it muſt have the ſame powers, and Exerciſe them in the ſame manner, as before, or (as Mr. *Selden* expreſſes it) That *England* muſt be Governed as *Epheſus* or *Crete*. It is certain that Kings would gain but little by the Bargain, not to ſay, they muſt depart with their Sovereignty to Incorporate the Chriſtian Religion, ſhould this be admitted, that Church-Authority, Church-Power muſt be ſtill the ſame after ſuch Incorporation, as before. For a ſeparate National Juriſdiction Exerciſed by one or many, is a Soleciſm in State, eſpecially if it claim by the Title of *Jure divino*, a Title that renders it Independent upon, as well as unboundable and uncontroulable by all that is human. Such a Juriſdiction would weaken that of Kings; and other States.

All their Subjects would be but half Subjects, and many none at all; and it is no more nor less but that very same thing, that heretofore was found so inconvenient and burdensome under the Papacy, and that made the best and wisest, and greatest of our Kings so uneasie. A Clergy imbodied within it self, and independent on the State, is in a Condition of being made a powerful Faction upon any Occasion, and easie to be practised upon, as being united under one, or a few Heads, who can presently convey the Malignity to all their Subordinates, and these to the People. So that I lay it down as a Maxim, that nothing can be of greater danger to any Government than a National Hierarchy, that does not depend upon it, or is not in the Measures and Interests of it. Fresh Experience has learned us this.

I know not with what Design it was said by *Padre Paulo Sarpio* of *Venice*, but his Words are very remarkable, as I find them cited from an Epistle of his to a Counsellor of *Paris*, in the Year 1609. ['I am afraid (says he) in the behalf 'of the English, of that great power of Bishops, though under a King. I have 'it in Suspicion when they shall meet with a King of that goodness, as they will 'think it easie to work upon him, or shall have any Archbishop of an high Spirit, 'the Royal Authority shall be wounded, and Bishops will aspire to an Absolute 'Domination. Methinks I see a Horse Sadled in *England*, and I guess that the 'old Rider will get on his Back: But all these things depend on the Divine Provi-'dence.] Thus he, very prudently as to the main, though perhaps with some mistake as to his Conjecture.

For my part, I think it but reason that such Persons as have the Benefit of Human Laws, should in so much be guided by them; and that the Sword which owns no other Edge but what the Magistrate gives it, should not be used but by his Direction; As indeed the practice in *England* has always been. For as Mr. *Selden* observes, 'Whatever Bishops do otherwise than the Law permits, *Westminster-'Hall* can controul, or send them to absolve, *&c.* *He also says very well*, 'That nothing has lost the Pope so much in his Supremacy, as not acknowledging 'what Princes gave him; 'tis a scorn (*says he*) on the Civil Power, and an un-'thankfulness in the Priest. But, *adds he*, the Church runs to *Jure divino*, lest if 'these should acknowledge what they have by positive Laws, it might be as well 'taken from them, as given to them.] Ay, *This excellent Person goes further, so much further as to tell us*, 'That a Bishop, as a Bishop had never any Ecclesiastical 'Jurisdiction [in *England*]; for as soon as he was *Electus Confirmatus*, that is, af-'ter the Three Proclamations in *Bow Church*, he might Exercise Jurisdiction be-'fore he was Consecrated, and yet till then [that he was Consecrated] he was 'no Bishop, neither could he give Orders. Besides, *says he*, Suffragans were Bi-'shops, and they never claimed any Jurisdiction.]

As for the Angels in the *Revelation*, I see no Evidence in what is said (tho' much is said) to prove them to have been Diocesans. It will not follow they were single persons, because they are called Ἀστέρες not Ἄστρα, as who would say they are compared to Stars, and not to Constellations; for the Truth is, both these Words are used promiscuously, as well for the Constellations as for the single Stars, so that no stress is to be laid upon the Word that is used, for either side. Besides, some are of the Opinion, That to the making of it clear that these Angels were

only ſingle Perſons, and for that cauſe compared but to ſingle Stars, and not to Conſtellations, ſufficient Reaſon ought to be given why the Holy Ghoſt, who expreſly limits the Number of the Churches, doth not in like manner limit the Number of the Angels belonging to them: For, ſay they, when the Holy Ghoſt ſaid, *The ſeven Candleſticks are the ſeven Churches*, had he intended to ſignifie that the Angels were but ſeven, as the Churches were, he would in like manner have ſaid, *the ſeven Stars are the ſeven Angels of theſe ſeven Churches.* But as I am not ſatisfied that any great Streſs ſhould be laid, in things of Moment, upon ſuch Critical Nicities, ſo, ſhould I yield, without granting that theſe Angels were Stars or ſingle Perſons, yet I ſhould alſo think it but equal to demand, What Reaſon there is to perſwade, that theſe Stars were other than the ſeven Preſident Presbyters, who were Chair-men in the ſeveral Presbyteries of thoſe ſeven Churches? Which Churches I take to be ſingle Congregations. For I ſee as yet no Reaſon, but that as a Letter intended for the Honourable Houſe of Commons, may be directed to the Speaker, ſo theſe Epiſtles intended for the ſeven Churches (for that they were, *Rev.* 2. 7, 11, 17, *&c.*) might be ſuperſcribed [for the Chief Paſtor or Preſident Presbyter] who probably at that Time was ſtiled the Biſhop, by way of Appropriation.

In fine, what if by the Name of Angel, an Angel properly ſo called ſhould be underſtood? And that the Epiſtles intended for the Churches [Paſtors and People] were ſent to them under the Name of their Guardian Angels? Should this be ſo, then farewel to any Ground for Dioceſan Biſhops in the Directions of the Epiſtles to the Angels. And that it ſhould be ſo is very agreeable to the Prophetical Spirit in the *Revelation*: For the *Revelation* goes much upon the *Hypotheſis* and Language of *Daniel*, and in *Daniel* we read of the Guardian Angels of Nations, and in ſuch a manner, that what refers to the Nations, or to their Governours, is ſaid of the Angels themſelves, *Dan.* 10. 13, 20, 21. Which is further confirmed, in that it ſeems to have been an *Hypotheſis*, obtaining in the firſt Age of Chriſtianity, that the ſeveral Churches or Aſſemblies of Chriſtians had their Guardian Angels; for it is very probable that in Relation and Aſpect unto this *Hypotheſis*, the Apoſtle *Paul* does tell Women, 1 *Cor.* 11. 10. *That they ought to have power over their heads, Becauſe of the* ANGELS; the Expreſſion ſeems to imply, That there were Angels, *Guardians* of the Aſſemblies; who obſerved the Demeanour of All, and therefore they ought to be Circumſpect, Modeſt and Decent in their Behaviour and in their Faſhions and Garbs, out of Reſpect to thoſe Guardians.

And indeed the former Account of the Title of Angels, is a more agreeable and eaſie one than that which ſome others give, who by Angel underſtanding a Biſhop in the Modern Senſe of that Word, believe the Denomination given with reference to a Practice among the Jews, who (they ſay, as from *Diodorus*) attributed to their High Prieſt the Title of Angel. But ſhould it be yielded that the Jews had any ſuch Practice [to attribute the Title of Angel to their High-Prieſt] what could this amount unto in our Caſe, ſince every Biſhop is not an High Prieſt, in the Senſe of the Jews? For in their Senſe there could be but one, and then, that one among Chriſtians muſt be a Pope, or a Sovereign Biſhop over all the Biſhops; as, among the Jews, the High Prieſt was over all the Prieſts. But

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in reality the Jews had no such Practice, nor does the alledged *Diodorus* say they had, [to call their High Priest Angel] they called him High Priest [προσαγορεύσι Αρχιερέα,] that was his name; but indeed, he adds, That they had a Belief of him, That he was (often) made a Messenger or Angel of God, [ᾧ νομίζουσι Ἄγγελον γίνεσθαι,] as really he was, when he had the Urim on him; and this is all that *Diodorus* affirms.

Your other Arguments (for Diocesan Episcopacy,) which you ground upon the Traditional Succession of *Bishops* in several *Sees*, down from the Times of the Apostles, and in the *Seats* of the Apostles, has no more of cogency in it than the former. I know *Tertullian l. de præscript. adv. Hæreticos*, says, *Precurre Ecclesias Apostolicas apud quas ipsa adhuc Cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur*, &c. And I acknowledg, the Apostles may well enough be said to have sate in *Chairs*, and others to succeed in them, if the Chairs be understood of Chairs of Doctrin, in the same Sense in which the Scribes and Pharisees are said to sit in *Moses's*; for in this Sense, All those Churches were Apostolical, and had Apostolical Succession, which being founded upon the *Doctrin* of the Apostles, had such persons only in any Authority over them, as did continue *therein*. But else, I cannot believe my self obliged to assent that the Apostles had Chairs in Particular Churches, tho' *Tertullian's* Words at first Sight may seem to sound that way, than to believe the Story of the Cells of the 70 Translators; a Story that S. *Hierom* not only confutes but Ridicules, tho' it has this to be said for it, That *Justin Martyr* affirms he saw the Ruins of those very Cells, and that they were in the *Pharos* of *Alexandri*, *Tertullian* flourished but in the beginning of the third Century, by which Time many Fob Traditions past Current; of which Truth too many Instances are obvious in the Writings of that Father, as well as of other Fathers. Indeed *Eusebius* has given us Catalogues of the Succession of Bishops in several Churches, but these Catalogues are only Conjectural and Traditionary. Himself, in the Proem of his Ecclesiastical History, tells us of a great Chasm that was in that kind of History for the three first Centuries, and that being alone and solitary in this kind of Performance, he had nothing but Fragments here and there to help him, from any of those who preceeded (him.) Ay, in the third Book of that History, Chap. 4. he says expresly, as to the Persons that succeeded the Apostles in the Government of the Churches, that it is hard to tell particularly and by name, who they were [quorum nomina *non est facile explicare per singulos.*] And that in making his Catalogues he went by way of Collection and Inference, from what is written by S. *Paul*; [*Ex Apostoli tamen Pauli sermonibus colligere possumus, &c.*] so that the Catalogues of Bishops deduced from the Apostles, for ought I see, deserve but little more of Credit, as being but little better ascertained than the Catalogue of the *British Kings*, deduced from *Brute*.

In truth, the Task is a little uneasie to make it clear, That the Apostles were properly Bishops, in the Modern Sense of the Word, and that they had fixed Seats, which yet is the Basis upon which such Catalogues must stand; sure I am, *Athanasius* in his Comment upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, *ad c. 2. v. 1.* affirms their Office to have been to go up and down and preach, *circumvagari* (as his Translator renders him) *& Evangelium prædicare*; so that in the Judgment of this

ſo celebrated a Father, the Apoſtles (as ſuch) were but Itinerant Preachers, a ſort of Officers that were unfixed.

As for *Epaphroditus*, I cannot be perſwaded by the bare Authority of S. *Hierom* (whom yet I take for a very Learned as well as Pious Father,) much leſs by that of *Walo Meſſalinus*, to believe againſt the Analogy of the Text, That he was *Biſhop* of the *Philippians*, only becauſe he is called by S. *Paul* their *Apoſtle*, *Phil.* 2. 25. The Obſervation *Walo* has made of the Word [*Apoſtle*,] that it is never uſed by the Evangeliſts, by S. *Paul* in any other Place, or by the other Apoſtles, but only *De Sancto Miniſterio*, will hold no Water; for I take it that *John* 13 16. in which Place the Word is uſed in a Common Promiſcuous Senſe, and rendred ſo by our Tranſlators, ſtands impregnable, as a plain, direct and unavoidable inſtance againſt him.

Irenæus is alſo cited, to prove that ſuch a ſuperiority as the Apoſtles themſelves had in the Church, was tranſmitted by them unto Biſhops; for, ſay you, this Father, who diſtinguiſhes between the Biſhops and Presbyters, affirms, That the Apoſtles delivered to the Biſhops, *ſuum ipſorum locum* Magiſterii, their own Place of Magiſteriality or Government. *Irenæus* flouriſhed towards the End of the 2d Century, and yet ſo near as he was to the Apoſtles own Times, if he affirmed, as he is agreed by the moſt (tho' not by all) to have done, That our Lord Chriſt did undergo his Paſſion in the fiftieth Year of his Age, we ſhall have little Reaſon to be fond of his Authority, in Matters which he takes upon Truſt, and by meer Report. But admitting *Irenæus*'s Authority (which I am unwilling to leſſen) to be as unblemiſhed and as tight as one could wiſh it, yet on this occaſion it will do you but ſmall Service; for the Force of the Teſtimony which you cite from him, depends on the Word *Magiſterium*; and *Magiſterium* ſignifies not, as you underſtand it, [a Maſterly Authority] but [teaching and Doctrin;] for in this latter Senſe the Word is often uſed by other Fathers, and particularly by S. *Cyprian*, as you may ſee *l.* 1. *ep* 3. and in other Places; but this is a Senſe that maketh nothing for you, for then *Irenæus* means no other than what *Tertullian* alſo affirms, and none will deny, that the Apoſtles delivered over to the Biſhops their own Chairs of Doctrin; ſo that ſucceeding Biſhops or Paſtors were obliged to deliver no other Doctrin unto their Flocks, but that ſame which themſelves had firſt received from thoſe that were the *Founders* of Chriſtianity.

In fine, as to what you mention (but ſomewhat invidiouſly) concerning the Judgment of the *Aſſembly* of Divines, the Gangrene of Mr. *Edwards*, and the overflow that was of Sects and Hereſies in the Late Times (of the Interreign) which you would inſinuate to be occaſioned by the Intermiſſion of Epiſcopacy. I anſwer, that there were Sects and Hereſies even in the Times of the Apoſtles, and that *Irenæus*, S. *Auſtin*, *Philaſtrius* and *Epiphanius* have furniſhed the Chriſtian World with large Catalogues of them, and of ſome in their own times; and yet I doubt not you will acknowledge, there were Biſhops in the Church, even in thoſe times; So that Epiſcopacy, if it be not Coercive, is no ſuch Remedy againſt Sects and Hereſies, as you would have us believe; and if it be Coercive, it is not purely Chriſtian and Spiritual, but, in ſo much, has ſomething in it of Secular and Worldly.

Thus I have reinforced my main Argument, and removed ſuch Exceptions as you take

take against it; and now I shall not make your trouble much longer, but to elucidate some Incident and By Passages, which I will do with all the Brevity I can, and without formality of Method, only as they come to my Mind.

Peter is first named where ever the whole Colledge of the Apostles is called over; but I do not infer, nor does it enforce, that any Primacy was due unto him, other than that of Precedence, which All Protestants (generally speaking) allow him.

It doth not appear that *James*, at the Council of *Hierusalem*, spake with more Authority than the other Apostles, as Bishop of the Place and President of the Synod. *Josephus* indeed takes notice of him under an eminent Character, for Piety; but not a word is there of the Author of his eminent Dignity, as a Prelate. As for *Paul*, he calls him that plain *James*, not Bishop *James*; And though he put him before *Peter* and *John*, *Gal.* 2. 9. that preference might be only in respect of his being the Lord's Preacher, *Gal.* 1. 16. and Consequently is no great Argument of his Prelacy, in the modern sense of that word.

So *Zosimus*'s Censure of the practice of having more Bishops than one in one City, does prove that practice; though he did not approve it. *Epiphanius* also is cited by many to evidence that practice.

I yield not that 1 *Cor.* 14. 34. which may be translated [in the Assemblies,] will demonstrate, that there were, at that time, several separate Meetings for Christian Offices in one City or Town, where was but one Church; And yet I grant it might happen to be so, upon Occasion; for our Experience Evinces it has been so of late, in a time of Persecution, among the Dissenting Churches, and what has been in our time, might on like Occasions have been before it. However, this Accident would not prove, nor indeed do I find any other proof, that there were in the first times of Christianity, Pastors who had the Care of several Churches; or, that any Church at that time did take in several Cities or Towns, which were remote; a Church properly being a Congregation, and consequently the People of a Vicinage or Neighbourhood, under Orders. *Cenchrea*, though one of the Ports of *Corinth*, had a Church of its own, distant from that at *Corinth*; and none, I think, will say, That that Church was Diocesan. The Council of *Chalcedon* prohibited absolute Ordinations.

That the end of the World, *Matth.* 28. 20. is literally to be understood of the end of the Jewish Policy, or the Mosaical *seculum*, seems evident, by comparing that Text with the 24. Chapter of the same Evangelist, Ver. 2, 14, and 24. The meaning of *Mat.* 1. 29. is, That *Joseph* did not know his Wife till she had brought forth her First-born, and that it will not follow, that he knew her afterward; And in this sense of [until] I make it parallel with *Mat.* 28. 20 So that when Christ says, He would be with his Apostles, *until* the end of the Jewish World, he is plain, he would be with them so long, but doth not imply by that [until] that he would be with them no longer. Without the favour that we commonly allow to popular Expressions, what is said, *Mat.* 28. 20. will not hold in the usual *sense* that is given it, as to the Apostles Successors, and with that favour, I see no strength in any Arguments against *mine*, which carries it, in the Letter unto the Apostles.

[illegible]] these words being said to them, not as [illegible] *drink, do this in remembrance of me*; [illegible] People, or Laity. Now I pray tell [illegible] they received that Commission, [illegible] many single Men, or as they represent [illegible] of these *Two*, they must necessarily [illegible] Body are never taken but in one or the [illegible] sters or Pastors; so that, by the Letter [illegible] the Apostles, either all Christians are [illegible] will not say, or else only the Apostles.

I acknowledge that *Cyprian*, though he [illegible] his *Colleagues*; He does not call them fellow [illegible] every Bishop was a Presbyter, yet every P[illegible] word. However, tho he does not say of Presb[illegible] Bishop, yet he comes very near it, when he tells them [illegible] *L. 1. Ep. 3.* when writing to *Cornelius* that was a [illegible] *CLEROTECUM PRÆSIDENTI*]. To the most [illegible] *together with thee*. And in truth, one must have read but little in [illegible] in his time the Presbyters or Clergy were joyned with the Bishop in [illegible] that not only the Clergy, but even the People too, had a great share therein, [illegible] shops; And this, as in other matters, so even in those that related unto Bishops [illegible] less than all this is implyed in that Expostulation of *Cyprian*: *An ad hoc frater* [illegible] *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Dignitas*, & plebs intus positæ fidelis *atque incorrupta MAJESTAS*, [illegible] *cerdotalis queque AUTHORITAS, ac potestas, Judicare velle se dicant de* Ecclesiæ *præposito extra Ecclesiam constituti*? What most dear Brother, is the dignity of (a) (or the) Catholick Church, the faithful and uncorrupt *Majesty of the People* that is in it, and also *Authority* and Power of the *Priesthood* to be brought to this, that such must talk of Judging concerning a Bishop of the Church, who themselves are out of the Church?

To conclude: That Alterations have been often made in the Church, both as to Government and Discipline, is so great and plain a truth, that none that knows the History can doubt of it; some of these came in early, by several steps and others afterwards upon occasions that could not be foreseen. Some things in the Church are Fundamental, and of an Immutable nature. But there are others that relate to Government, Discipline and Administration, which depending upon the variable Circumstances of Times, Places, and Occasions, are, and must be, left to Christian Prudence. The Grounds I go upon in my Scheme, in which I have set out the principal Alterations that have been made, are owned by the Church of *England*, as to one Instance, (and the Reason of that one will hold in more,) when in its Canons and Constitutions, agreed *An. Dom.* 1640. *Can.* 1. It says, The power to call and dissolve Councils both National and Provincial, is the *true right* of all Christian Kings, within their own Realms, and Territories; And *when* in the first times of Christ's Church *Prelates used* this power; 'twas therefore *only*, because in those days they had no *Christian Kings*.] But it is time to end your trouble, and therefore I will add no more but to own my self,

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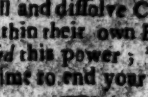

SIR,

June 8th.
1690.

Your Humble Servant.